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Mother Teresa Arrives in Tirana for Visit

AU1508192689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] The well-known Albanian charity worker and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Mother Teresa (?Gonxhe Bajaxhiu), arrived yesterday in Tirana on a private visit. She came to Albania with the wish to see her country and to pay homage to the graves of her relatives in Tirana.

Mother Teresa was received at the airport by Ciril Pistoli, chairman of the Albanian Red Cross; Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries; and other comrades.

This morning, Mother Teresa paid homage at the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery and laid a wreath at the Mother Albania Monument. She also paid homage and laid a bouquet of flowers on the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Viewing the graves of martyrs she said: I am filled with emotions by the great honor paid to the martyrs of the nation who laid down their lives for the country's freedom. Mother Teresa was accompanied by Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries.

Mother Teresa also visited the Tirana Cemetery, where she paid homage and laid bouquets of flowers on the graves of her mother (?Roza Bojaxhiu) and her sister (?Age Bojaxhiu).

This morning, she paid a visit at the home of Artiste of the People Marije Kraja, a relative, as well as to the house where her mother and sister had lived for a long time.

Mother Teresa then visited the No 40 Kindergarten in Tirana. The directoress of the kindergarten briefed her on the work done in this institution for the sound upbringing and education of the children. The children bid her welcome and greeted her with songs and recitations. She then visited the various buildings and said: I am very happy for the great solicitude shown here for the upbringing and education of the younger generations, the country's future. These children must be very happy to grow up in such good conditions. During this visit Mother Teresa was accompanied by Artiste of the People Marije Kraja and by the directoress of the Oncological Institute, [name indistinct].

Algerian National Assembly Chairman Visits

Received by Alia

AU1508135689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, today received Rabah Bitat, chairman of the People's National Assembly of Algeria.

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, and Mohamed Lemkami, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, were also present.

Comrade Ramiz Alia had a warm and cordial talk with Rabah Bitat, chairman of the People's National Assembly of Algeria. Expressing his particular pleasure at meeting him again, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that his visit to Albania is a reflection of the sincere friendship that exists between our two fraternal peoples. He mentioned the close links between the Albanian and Algerian peoples, which have developed and strengthened constantly. The Albanian people have always appreciated and admired the struggle and efforts of the Algerian people for the development, prosperity, and all-round consolidation of their country.

Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out the friendly relations and fruitful cooperation that exist between Albania and Algeria in various fields of mutual interest and he stressed the possibilities and prospects for their further development and consolidation. This purpose is served by the constant visits, contacts, and discussions between eminent personalities and various delegations. He also expressed his high appreciation for the ties of friendship of our people with the fraternal Arab peoples and the constant support given by Albania to their just struggle, dwelling particularly on Albania's support for the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people to achieve their lofty national aspirations.

Rabah Bitat, chairman of the National People's Assembly of Algeria, mentioned the cordial and friendly sentiments of the Algerian people for the Albanian people. He expressed his conviction that the close relations between the two countries will be constantly reinforced for their common benefit.

During the conversation, Comrade Ramiz Alia and Rabah Bitat exchanged views on the latest international developments, dwelling especially on the situation in the Balkans and the Middle East.

Meets Assembly Chairman Dode

AU1508140889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Rabah Bitat, chairman of the National Assembly of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, was received today by Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and by Pali Miska, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture.

During the meeting, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, both sides stressed the development of existing relations between our two peoples and countries and the close ties between the two parliaments.

The activities of the two parliaments were also mentioned and both sides stressed the possibilities that exist to further extend and reinforce the cooperation between them.

Mohamed Lemkami, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

Paper Views Hungarian Elections, Changes

AU1508145389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Aug 89 p 4

[Arben Karapici article: "The Second Round of the Parliamentary Elections in Hungary"]

[Text]The Hungarian opposition scored a victory in the second round of elections for the 350-seats Parliament held on 6 August. Official sources in Budapest point out that "should this be repeated in the national multiparty elections due to take place next year, the communists will suffer a real loss." According to these sources, the Democratic Forum, the strongest opposition group, won three times more votes than the party in power in the two constituencies where the second round of elections was held. Although the opposition groups have not yet achieved a legal status as political parties (a special bill will be presented to Parliament in September), they took part in recent local elections. One party leader, Imre Pozsgay, considered the results of Sunday's elections as "shattering, although not paralyzing." He stated that "the party must change radically to avoid the prospect of a government crisis caused by an opposition victory."

These developments are taking place at a time when two major positions have emerged within the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. The first is in favor of "a rapid transition" in the direction of Western forms of organization and of the country's economic and political management, whereas the second is in favor of "cautious steps" in this direction. This has made it necessary to hold three party plenums within a period of only 2 months, canceling each other's decisions pertaining to the convening of an extraordinary Congress and other internal party matters. Calls were made at these forums to change even the party's name, naming it "democratic, popular, and socialist." The 23-24 June plenum merits special attention. This plenum dissolved the Politburo and replaced it with an executive committee of 21 members. The plenum appointed Rezso Nyers, a former Social Democrat, as party chairman, whereas the presidency was given to Imre Pozsgay. In the absence of a Politburo, the day to day affairs of the party is carried out by a presidency including Rezso Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, Karoly Grosz, and Premier Miklos Nemeth.

The multiparty system has been practiced in Hungary since the beginning of this year, with the various opposition groups beginning to organize themselves as separate parties. The revived Social Democratic Party appears to be especially active both within the country itself and abroad, and has asked to become a member of the Socialist International. According to MTI, this agency will publicly report the programs of the opposition parties within the country and abroad. Observers say that the program of the party currently in power has numerous points in common with opposition programs, thus providing the opportunity for joint management of Hungary's domestic and foreign policies.

As far as next year's elections are concerned, in which various political parties will participate, officials of the party currently in power have declared, according to a REUTER report on 6 August, that "they will be completely free and the results will be recognized and accepted." In addition to the bill pertaining to the official status of opposition parties, another bill has now come up for discussion. This pertains to the drafting of a new western-type constitution, a Constitutional Court, and the creation of the position of an executive president of the Republic. A bill pertaining to elections is also expected to be passed. Under these conditions, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has proposed that only half of the 350 seats in Parliament be open to the election process, on the basis of constituencies, while the second half of the seats be apportioned on the basis of the ballots received by each party. According to observers in Budapest, this would assure the party in power of at least a moderate representation in parliament.

Italy's Andreotti Sends Message to Carcani

AU0808135989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Giulio Andreotti, prime minister of the Republic of Italy, has sent the following telegram to Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

I thank you for your message on the formation of the Italian Government and your congratulations, which I greatly appreciate.

Wishing that the relations between our two countries may continue to develop and be further strengthened, I convey to you my most cordial greetings.

BTA 'Declaration' on Woerner Statement

AU1508155689 Sofia BTA in English
1435 GMT 15 Aug 89

["Declaration of BTA"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 15 (BTA)—On behalf of the NATO member states, on August 9, 1989, Dr Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary general, made a declaration in which accusations were made against Bulgaria and ungrounded claims were made upon her concerning the situation of the citizens of Bulgaria. Greece expressed her reserve both with regard to the contents of the declaration and the double standards laid down in it and with regard to the inaccurate juridical terminology used to qualify the Bulgarian Muslims.

In connection with the declaration of the NATO secretary general, the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY has been authorised to make the following declaration:

This political act aroused the broad Bulgarian public's amazement and concern. Amazement at the rash and biased historically and juridically ungrounded conclusions of the allies which can be defined in no other way but as interference in another country's internal affairs and an attempt to exert pressure on a sovereign state on the part of a politico-military bloc. [sentence as received]

The European peoples know very well the tragic events in Bulgaria's history. Nobody else but their most brilliant minds raised their voice to defend the Bulgarian people, subjected during the five centuries of Ottoman yoke to total assimilation and mass destruction. For five hundred years Bulgaria paid a blood tax. Unfortunately she is compelled to pay it today, too.

The Bulgarian people does not wish anybody to suffer because of its tragic past, but the lesson drawn from the past concerns not only the Bulgarian people's present and future. The real reasons for the present condition of Bulgaro-Turkish relations are rooted in the subversive activity of a policy which is alien both to the European and the world standards, to the realities of our time and the new political thinking.

This policy of the ruling circles in Turkey insidiously manipulates part of the Bulgarian population, fanning up hatred between people who have the same family roots—between Muslims and Christians, seeks to destabilize the processes of restructuring and innovation in Bulgaria, to undermine Bulgaria's international authority and prestige. This policy is aimed not only against Bulgaria, but against the other neighbours of Turkey. It should be condemned as a policy that destabilizes peace and security in the Balkans and Europe. But instead, the extremist aggressive trends which led to the genocide against the Armenian and the Kurdish peoples, to the illegal occupation of part of Cyprus, are encouraged.

We are convinced that if those who authorised the NATO secretary general to speak on their behalf had tried to clarify the actual situation, they no doubt would have established that no international, bilateral or multilateral document alludes to the presence of a "Turkish minority" in Bulgaria. They would have judged on its merits the new Bulgarian legislation allowing free movement of Bulgaria's citizens out of the country for a temporary or permanent stay abroad and their return to this country, because this legislation is fully in unison with the Vienna accords. But instead we are the witnesses of a paradox. In actual fact some circles in the NATO call Bulgaria to cancel these humanitarian gains, to stop the free movement of people.

The Bulgarian public is greatly concerned, because such a position can have a negative influence on the delicate, historically burdened situation in the Balkans and on the desire of the European peoples to live in peace and good-neighbourly relations.

In Bulgaria nobody is persecuted because of their religion. Nobody deports or expatriates forcibly the Bulgarian Muslim citizens or any other Bulgarian citizens. The Constitution of our country safeguards the human rights and the freedom of all members of the society. The attempts of some foreign forces to put Bulgaria "in the dock" are doomed to failure. NATO has no juridical or moral right to be the arbitrator in the dispute between two sovereign states on such delicate questions, neither it is an institution to which Bulgaria is obliged to give an account.

The question arises whether the countries, the representatives of which agreed with the publication of such a declaration, obviously under Turkey's pressure, do not consider that they violate, and grossly and unresponsibly at that, the meaning and the content of a lot of their declarations in which it is said that NATO is a defensive alliance which does not interfere in other countries' internal affairs, or these are just declarations which have nothing to do with reality.

Bulgaria has always listened to the well-meaning voice and the objective position. Those who are willing to contribute to the improvement of Bulgaro-Turkish relations, worsened through no fault of Bulgaria's, will have to do it on the basis of the historic truth, the realities, the laws and each country's sovereign rights. We are convinced that the number of the NATO member-countries which support such an approach will grow.

We respond to all sensible appeals for a dialogue. It is Bulgaria that proposed fair and open talks on a summit level, but Turkey does not show any interest in such talks and is still turning the proposals aside, setting conditions and making ultimatums before she has even sat at the negotiations table. That is why it is not Bulgaria, but Turkey to which an appeal should be made for a serious and responsible dialogue on the basis of equality of rights. Endorsing the positions of those who adhere to

making use of uncivilized forms of behavior in the relations among peoples on the part of some circles not only undermines the bilateral Bulgaro-Turkish dialogue, but poses a serious threat to the movement of Europe to a common European home, and a peaceful future for all peoples.

Editorial Views New Joint Stock Companies

AU1508193589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Change Toward Establishing the Manager"]

[Excerpts] The setting up, consolidation, and development of the companies form the foundation for carrying through a revolutionary restructuring in our economy. The normative documents—Decree No 56, the regulations for its application, and Decree No 922—created the objective conditions and to a large extent explained "the rules of the game," according to which the company-based approach will be applied and the independence and freedom of the producers of goods will be developed. [passage omitted]

Considerable opportunities, already expressed in a material form, are opened up by the conditions for the workers direct participation concerning the property of the company. Their right to purchase shares in their own company up to a value of 10,000 leva will have at least two effects. First, the worker will become directly interested in the method and extent of the utilization of the basic production funds, labor resources, and raw and other material resources. Second, this interest on the part of the worker will be dictated by the possibility of raising the efficiency of the company, and accordingly its profit, thereby also increasing the dividends that the worker will receive on his shares.

The transition to the shareholding principle is a form that has become established in international economic cooperation for attracting capital and foreign participants to economic activity. We do not hide the fact that we will expand and deepen production sharing and cooperation with all the countries in the world, and that this is the basis upon which we will implement a considerable part of the economy's structural, scientific, technical, and technological renewal.

The chief goal of transforming state and cooperative companies into joint stock companies is to create objective conditions for more effectively managing socialist property, for regrouping and reallocating free financial funds, and for speeding up the processes of restructuring the economy. This also poses the requirement of quickly finding solutions to the practical tasks: issuing shares, establishing a market in these shares, and determining the procedures for the purchase and sale of the shares. It is clear that these tasks must be resolved without delay if we want to start to establish the shareholding principle in our economic activity.

Customs Officials Discuss Border Regulations

AU1508184789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Aug 89 p 6

[Interview with Nikola Nikolov, chief of the Customs Administration, and Chavdar Kunev, chief specialist at the Customs Administration, by Tsvetana Tosheva in Sofia: "On Exporting Bulgarian Goods and Sums of Money"—date not given]

[Text] Recently persistent rumors have been spreading concerning citizens departing for Turkey that they are exporting unlimited quantities of goods and various sums in Bulgarian leva. The public is forming an opinion that these goods and sums are crossing the border illegally, and that the customs inspection is of a poor standard. What is the situation at the moment, what goods and sums are being exported, and what measures are the customs organs taking against all this? The answers to these questions are contained in the information provided to us by Nikola Nikolov, chief of the Customs Administration.

[Nikolov] During the last 2 months (up to the evening of 9 August) the customs authorities have retained 49,002,623 leva from persons traveling to Turkey. Of this amount, 20,243,616 leva represents deposit payments made on newly purchased goods that are exported. I will briefly explain that any such commodity may be exported from the country after payment of a deposit equivalent to 300 percent of the retail price in Bulgaria. The sums are returned in cases when the persons return to Bulgaria with the exported items. Regarding the sums of money that certain persons conceal when they leave the country, to date the customs organs have drawn up 202 statements on foreign currency violations, to a total value of 439,874 leva. Of these amounts, 171,700 leva is for payment of fines.

It is true that the public has formed an opinion that now, almost certainly in view of the situation, the customs legislation has been changed, and as a result the practice has changed too. The law on customs duties and the regulations for its application, which have been in force for about 30 years, have not been changed in substance, with the exception of the more lenient regime for imports. They are applied in an identical manner for all Bulgarian citizens who enter and leave the country.

x x x

From our conversation with Chavdar Kunev, chief specialist in the Customs Administration, we learned details about the application of customs' normative regulations that are of direct interest to many of our readers.

[Tosheva] During my 10-day stay at the Kapitan Andreevo Border Checkpoint, I obtained information that certain people leaving the country are each taking with them 10-20 color televisions, and similar quantities of washing machines, stoves, water heaters, and so on. Do you consider this legal?

[Kunev] Similar information has already appeared in the press, but it is not accurate. I would like to give a specific explanation on this matter. In the case of the export of so-called unaccompanied baggage (by rail or road), the freight document is issued in the name of a single person, the so-called consigner of the goods. This requirement arises from the internal and international regulations of the transportation conventions. For this reason, if many goods of the same kind are loaded into a single freightcar or container, this means that they belong to several families. Under the customs requirements a single person or family may not export more than one television, one washing machine, one water heater, and so on, otherwise the goods are seized by customs and returned directly to the trading network.

[Tosheva] That is all very well, but surely these items are the owners' property?

[Kunev] That is true, and accordingly the equivalent value of the goods is repaid under the customs regulations when the owners return to the country.

[Tosheva] I would like to ask whether every Bulgarian citizen is entitled to take 500 leva with him when he leaves the country. As far as I know, one is permitted to export 10 leva to capitalist countries and 30 leva to socialist countries. Is not an exception being made in this case?

[Kunev] The instruction on the border control of foreign currency assets also permits the export of greater amounts, under the condition, however, that these amounts should be imported again upon return to Bulgaria in order to meet essential needs upon arrival. This is why in this instance there can be no question of unjustified exceptions from the law.

[Tosheva] It is persistently asserted by certain Western mass media that our customs organs are violating the travelers' right to export their own money.

[Kunev] Every country has the right to choose the method of protecting its national currency system. In the case of Bulgaria, the import and export of Bulgarian currency is prohibited. This is not only the case in Bulgaria. For example, similar measures to protect the money system exist in Spain, and also in Italy.... Furthermore, Bulgarian citizens departing for aboad may export their own foreign currency deposits without restriction upon presentation of a bank foreign exchange note.

Italian Military Officials Meet Dzhurov, Depart

AU1508175589 Sofia BTA in English 1606 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 15 (BTA)—Today the group of the Italian Armed Forces inspectors who are paying a visit to Bulgaria carried out a second inspection of some areas and sites where the "Maritsa'89" exercise is taking place, convincing themselves completely in the strict adherence to the requirements of the Stockholm document. They watched the tactical and firing practice of an armoured battalion.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of defense, received the Italian military inspectors. They had a sincere discussion on different questions of internal and international character and focused their attention on Bulgaria's efforts to observe the Stockholm declaration.

The Italian Armed Forces inspectors left the country.

Joint Scottish Engineering Firm Formed

AU1208185489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Aug 89 p 5

[Text] London, 9 August (BTA correspondent)—An agreement has been signed in the Scottish city of Dundee on setting up a joint enterprise between the Scottish engineering company Reekey Manufacturing the Bulgarian state company "Radomir-Metal."

The agreement provides for the handover to the Bulgarian partner of a complete processing line for the production of five different types of machines used in the cultivation of potatoes.

We have the best feelings toward Bulgaria and want to develop our economic relations with your country. This is the first time that an agreement on a joint enterprise has been signed between a Scottish and a Bulgarian enterprise, and we wish the venture success. The new climate in Eastern Europe offers Scottish business circles better opportunities for economic activity, Douglas Hardy, deputy chairman of the Scottish Development Agency, stated at the signing ceremony.

Human Rights Public Committee Issues Appeal

LD1508124889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] The leadership of the Czechoslovak Public Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation issued a statement today. It says that the number of written submissions and personal visits by citizens who have turned to the committee seeking council and help in personal affairs, as well as with their views on the current internal political situation, has grown. The Czechoslovak Public Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation notes with concern some phenomena within society which are generating undesirable emotions and tension. After the experiences beginning January this year, the committee expresses concern that manifestations of demagogy, sweeping nihilism or violence may shortly occur. This would not contribute to the development of democracy, the realization of restructuring of our society, or the rectification of mistakes and shortcomings. The committee leadership therefore appeals to the Czechoslovak public, all organizations, groups and individuals, and especially to young people, when expressing their attitudes, views and standpoints to employ exclusively legitimate means and structures, to act with due deliberation, and not hastily.

The Czechoslovak Public Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation stresses that destructive emotions and failure to observe laws are not and cannot be a way of tackling any problems or questions.

CTK Cites Austrian View of 'European Process'

LD1508004989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] A recurrent theme of Austria's political vocabulary is its stated wish to fulfill the role of a bridge between East and West and thus to help construct the common European home, the Czechoslovak news agency CTK points out in a commentary issued today.

The role of bridgebuilder, however, should encompass a variety of categories and not merely use frequent and unobjective reproaches about disregard for human rights in the socialist countries, with the sharp edge of this criticism directed at Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the GDR.

Certain Austrian politicians and, in particular, the right-wing press, are fond of pointing out that their country was the first Helsinki Final Act signatory to take up the case of Vaclav Havel at the political level. Foreign Minister Alois Mock also lectured Czechoslovakia and Romania at the Paris Conference on the Human Dimension of the European Process. The attitudes and reactions shown by Austrian foreign policy create the impression that the country views the European process exclusively through the prism of the observance of human rights, CTK concludes.

Knotek Speaks About Tasks of Restructuring

AU1408153789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Decisive Tasks Lie Ahead of Us"]

[Excerpts] Chomutov/Most—Comrade Ivan Knotek traveled to the Chomutov and Most districts for a working visit on Thursday [10 August] in connection with preparations for the 15th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee session, which will be devoted to environmental issues. [passage omitted]

During the afternoon, an aktiv of representatives of working collectives from the mining districts of the North Bohemia region was held in the Miners and Power Industry Workers Trade Union House of Culture in Most. The aktiv was devoted to environmental issues and the current internal political situation. Comrade Ivan Knotek made a speech.

He appraised the results which the region's working people have achieved while fulfilling the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Central Committee Congress and of the Seventh and Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Sessions. He stressed that it is now possible to perceive a further increase in intensification in the basic turnaround, while creating the social product on the basis of implementing scientific and technical progress. The restructuring of the economic mechanism must be directed toward making centralized management more efficient and toward the marked ecomomic motivation of enterprises through the broad utilization of supply and demand relations. Ivan Knotek further stated that organizational changes have led to cuts of more than 5,700 managerial workers in the CSSR, particularly in the central organs. These are, however, only organizational and cadre prerequisites to meet society's needs better and more efficiently. The decisive tasks of restructuring now lie ahead of us, said Ivan Knotek. The issue mainly involves the rationalization of the entire management system and the planning of the national economy and the construction of united and efficient management center at the federal level and at the level of both republics. Thus, it will be possible to create a favorable economic climate which will lead to the prosperity of independent state enterprises. He also emphasized that the proposed structural changes require an energetic solution to the reduction of material and energy demands and that natural sources of fuel and energy be effectively used and managed. We will not avoid some structural changes in this sphere in the future. The key to an actual solution also lies, besides structural changes in production, in the more rapid utilization of progressive science and technology under the conditions of the work carried out by each enterprise and by each organization, noted Ivan Knotek. We must not only think, but also act in a manner befitting restructuring.

He stressed that, while resolving production issues, it is necessary to implement ecological programs with absolute urgency and to fully utilize the measures approved by the CSSR Government for this.

The preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress give us wide scope to introduce and gradually resolve all the issues associated with restructuring. However, it is extraordinarily demanding to consistently implement the tasks for the present stage, tasks which the 14th CPCZ Central Committee Session laid down for the more speedy utilization in practice of the results of scientific and technical progress and to assert the structural changes, first and foremost in the engineering and electrical engineering industries. At the present stage of preparations for the annual members meetings of party primary organizations and the conferences it is necessary to unify the efforts of CPCZ members and non-party members and to actively struggle against all those who are attempting to disrupt the unity of the party and people, stressed Ivan Knotek in his speech.

In replies to questions, he then reported on the fulfillment of the national economic plan for the first 6 months of this year. He also discussed the internal political situation. He stated that the atmosphere in the working collectives and in the entire structure of the National Front is characterized by overall political stability and by the endeavor to realize the tasks of restructuring and democratization. However, this requires an improvement in quality at all levels of the mass political work of the party, trade unions, and the entire National Front. It is necessary to conduct a dialogue with all those who have a sincere interest in the future of socialism and who have decided to actively participate in restructuring by their honest work. [passage omitted]

Jakes, Adamec Return From USSR Holiday

LD1508194189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, and Ladislav Adamec, federal premier, returned home today from a holiday in the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Johanes Hosts Dinner for Cuban Foreign Minister

AU1408145089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Aug 89 p 1

[CTK report]

[Text] On Friday [11 August] Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister, and his wife hosted a gala dinner in honor of Isidoro Malmierca and Mrs Malmierca in the Czernin Palace in Prague. Both ministers made speeches at the dinner.

In their speeches, Johanes and Malmierca welcomed the high level achieved in the development of Czechoslovak-Cuban relations and expressed their conviction that cooperation between both countries will be further intensified in all spheres.

We remain realists while evaluating present world development, said the Czechoslovak minister. The forces of the past do not give in easily and feverish armament is continuing. Recidivist policies from a position of strength manifest themselves and attempts are being made to destabilize other states, to tell them what to do, and to foist alien values on them. It is, therefore, necessary to enhance our efforts so that the positive tendencies become irreversible.

In his speech, the Cuban guest stressed the traditional concurrence of views between Cuba and Czechoslovakia regarding all the fundamental international political issues. He highly praised the Czechoslovak initiative for the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO. At the same time, he emphasized that it is only possible to build trust on the basis of the joint contribution of all participants, without any exception.

Malmierca expressed satisfaction over the course of his visit to the CSSR, so far, and he praised the constructive tone of the discussions.

Miroslav Stepan, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee also participated in the gala dinner.

Four Charged With Sedition in Bratislava

LD1408185289 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 14 (CTK)—Criminal proceedings have started against four persons in the Slovak capital Bratislava for the criminal offence of spreading seditious materials, Czechoslovak Interior Ministry spokesman Major Jiri Belohlavek has said.

Under a city prosecutor's warrant house searches were conducted and after the assessment of evidence the criminal liability of each person will be decided.

Nitrate Makes Tap Water Dangerous for Babies

AU1408165789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 August on page 4 carries a 2,100-word article by Vit Smrcka entitled "From Water to Mineral Water...." The article deals with the problem of high nitrate content in tap water in Czechoslovakia, which makes it unsuitable for infants. Smrcka says, among other things: "A study carried out between 1982 and 1984 revealed that more than 70 percent of residents of the Czech Socialist

Republic are supplied with water with a nitrate content in excess of 15 milligrams per liter, which is the upper limit admissible for babies. The quality of water has deteriorated further since then. A higher content of nitrates in water makes babies suffocate. It causes alimentary methemoglobinemia, a disease which frequently ends in the child's death.

"Adults are better equipped to cope with nitrates, which is why, according to the Czechoslovak state norm, water for consumption by adults may contain up to 50 milligrams per liter. However, water sources exceeding this norm up to six times are no exception in our country."

Smrcka goes on to say that, in areas where tap water is unsuitable for babies, pediatricians recommend that mothers use mineral water. He points out, however, that, besides not being always available, mineral water also has the drawback of having a high salt content. Smrcka says: "The medical profession is waging a struggle to limit salt in food for adults, but the youngest generation, via mineral water, is receiving it in large quantities. One citizen in two in Czechoslovakia dies of cardiovascular diseases at present, and one in four of malignant tumors. Among 23 European states whose data are available, we rank 19th in the median length of life. The medical profession sees the problem of water quality as one of the main causes. Most extraneous substances from the environment are getting into the organism together with food."

In the body of the article, Smrcka illustrates the problem by the example of the city of Kladno. He notes that Kladno has recently been connected to a new source of drinking water, which has helped to resolve the problem of water quantity. The nitrate content of the new source, however, "considerably exceeds the norm for babies," which confronts the city authorities with a new problem. Smrcka reports on a "consultative meeting" held in Kladno to cope with the new situation. He cites a number of proposals that were made at the meeting (such as that the city's hospital and its soft drinks bottling plant be supplied with clean water from a special source) but observes no final decision was made.

GDR To Attend Nonaligned Summit as Observer
LD1508163389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1459 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade (ADN)—The GDR is taking part as an observer in the ninth summit meeting of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries (4- 7 September) in Belgrade. The official invitation was conveyed on behalf of the Yugoslav Government by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. The movement's Coordination Bureau earlier approved the GDR application to this effect.

Chancellor Kohl's Message Relayed to Honecker
LD1508160489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1539 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Denis Ruh, deputy spokesman for the GDR Foreign Ministry, told ADN that the text of a communication from FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, had been conveyed by the head of the FRG Permanent Representation in the GDR to the Foreign Ministry yesterday evening, with the request that it be forwarded.

DBD, Polish UPP Working Meeting on Relations
LD1508153489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1416 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the invitation of the chairman of the Democratic Peasants Party of Germany [DBD], Dr Guenther Maleuda, a delegation from the supreme committee of the United Peasants Party of Poland [UPP], headed by the chairman Roman Malinowski, was in Berlin today for a working meeting.

After friendly consultations between the chairmen of the two parties, the delegations held an exchange of opinions, in a cordial atmosphere, on topical questions relating to the international situation, the social development in the two countries, and the cooperation between the two parties.

The talks reinforced the firm determination of both parties to fight unwaveringly for the high ideals of socialism and peace, on the basis of firm friendship and shared views. In view of the historical lessons of the 50th anniversary of the invasion of Poland by fascist Germany, and the unleashing of World War II, both sides emphasized anew that they will support to the utmost the measures and proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries to secure peace and preventing a nuclear inferno.

Both sides confirmed that they will do all in their power to help render the change from confrontation to detente irreversible.

On the basis of this position, the two parties condemn all attempts to undermine the results achieved to date on disarmament through new arms projects and through modernization. They describe the adherence to the NATO strategy of nuclear deterrence as extremely out of step with the times, and consider that greater efforts are required from all the forces for peace, in order to counterbalance these dangerous manifestations.

The interlocutors condemned most strongly the promulgation of revanchist territorial claims on the part of certain Bonn politicians, who are violating existing international law with their claim of the continued existence of the German reich within the 1937 borders. They expressed concern at the increase in neo-Nazi activity in the FRG. All attempts at interference in the internal affairs of socialist states are rejected. A neighbourly climate in the common European home, and detente and security in Europe necessitate an end to confrontational behavior, to politics by force, and to patronizing attitudes toward other countries.

Roman Malinowski praised, in this connection, the GDR's policy of peace and disarmament supported by the DPD, characterized by the historical responsibility that war should never again be allowed to emanate from German soil.

Guenther Maleuda and Roman Malinowski reported on the social development in their countries, and in particular on the historical achievements over the past four decades in the socialist development in the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland. The ties of firm friendship and general cooperation between the two states and peoples are an expression of this development.

Roman Malinowski spoke of the work in implementing the resolutions of the 10th UPP congress, which would help to ensure the success of the political, economic and social reforms in the People's Republic of Poland. The complex tasks of socialist development are bound up with high standards, and demand the purposeful cooperation of all political forces in the People's Republic of Poland. To this end, UPP policies are designed to help stabilize the situation in the country.

Both sides noted with satisfaction the progress made in the exchange of experiences between the UPP supreme committee and the DBD party executive, and in the cooperation between the principal committees of the UPP and the area executives of the DBD. The 1989 children and youth exchange between the two countries was described as a renewed contribution to the youth program signed by the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland.

In 1990 a new framework program is to be signed for the cooperation between the two parties until the year 1995.

Honecker Receives Microelectronic Plant Workers
LD1408121689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0924 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State,

met in Berlin at noon today with workers of the "Karl Marx" VEB microelectronics works, Erfurt. They reported on the successful realization of a top scientific achievement of the Erfurt research center. During the meeting, in the SED Central Committee premises, they handed over the first operational sample of an effective 32-bit microprocessor being manufacutured for engineering workstations.

Addresses Workers

LD1408182189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1451 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The first operational samples of 32-bit microprocessors for engineering work stations for the automatic design of printed circuits, other electronics products, and heavy engineering were handed over by workers of the Erfurt Microelectronics combine in Berlin on 14 August to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker, on behalf of the Central Committee, the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the GDR thanked the microelectronics workers in moving words for the samples presented and congratulated them and the members of their teams on the significant scientific-technological top achievement.

Honecker underlined, "You have made a worthy contribution to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic. With the development and production of the first 32-bit microprocessors, a further important step in the field of microelectronics is being accomplished according to the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. After the first one-megabit chips were produced last September by the Carl Zeiss Jena combine, your present achievement creates the opportunity to further expand the GDR's microelectronics system which will benefit not only our country."

Erich Honecker recalled in this connection that the 7th session of the Central Committee in preparation of the 12th SED congress proposed to continue working at great speed and to achieve new results on developing and applying key technologies. To raise labor productivity and save considerable amounts of energy and material in the national economy is of crucial importance for continuing the proven course of uniting economic and social policy.

"We are firmly resolved to comprehensively support all initiatives in this direction, for through this course the party and state leadership of the GDR intends to see that everything is being done for the prosperity of the people, for the further improvement of their material and cultural living standard, for a high degree of education, for a secure future for children, for social progress, and for a lasting peace. That is and remains the supreme maxim of our actions," Erich Honecker said.

The achievements of linking the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism and the expansion of social policy prove at the same time, the general secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State continued, that the shouts of triumph by Western media about the "failure of the socialist social conception" is not worth the money paid for it. As socialism runs its course it is delayed by neither ox nor horse.

"This old recognition by the German workers' movement has now been confirmed by the great initiative of the GDR working people. The human face of socialism cannot be distorted by those who, in the capitalist strongholds, consider it virtually normal that mass unemployment, housing shortages, and the new poverty characterize their 'free' system," Erich Honecker stressed.

"Socialism is the only social order in which man can be man, in which human work and initiative are not being misused but become effective for the individual. That is the truth about the values of our life and our struggle. For that we fought in the Weimar republic and in the resistance against Hitler fascism; thus we have built a new life in the German Democratic Republic after the dreadful events of World War II. We are not resting on our laurels; the 12th congress will be discussing and deciding on the tasks of the nineties."

Evaluating once more the achievement of the microelectronics workers, Erich Honecker said: "On the strong foundation of our socialist planned economy, the state management, the great economic responsibility of the combines and enterprises themselves, we are capable of undertaking qualitatively new steps.

"He who strengthens socialism and our republic, acts in his very own interest, acts for the benefit of the people in a peaceful life. That is the deep sense by which the great initiative in town and country is being inspired on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR."

Further to Workers

LD1408215389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1854 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker's comments during his meeting with workers of the Erfurt microelectronics combine read as follows:

Our meeting today is, as can be gathered from your comments, a notable event in the life of our people, preparing for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. In a relatively short period of time, more than 250 members of research and development collectives, with

the support of many production and research and development establishments, have achieved peak performances in the area of microelectronics, which will help to revolutionize our national economic processes. It can rightly be emphasized that we have reached a new stage in microelectronics.

You have just produced the first 32-bit microprocessors manufactured in the GDR. These are, as you have rightly noted, the crucial switching circuits for a whole system. You are thus fulfilling a commitment you took on at your own initiative during my visit to the nationally-owned enterprise "Karl Marx" in Erfurt, on 22 May 1986.

Collectives of the microelectronics and Robotron combines and of the GDR Academy of Sciences have thus achieved a great deal. Under the direction of Comrade Heinz Wedler, the director general of the microelectronics combine, work was carried out with great commitment. On behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee [SED], the GDR State Council and the GDR Council of Ministers, I would like to thank you and congratulate you—the researchers and developers, the design engineers and technicians, and the leaders in charge—most sincerely for this.

Through your achievements, it should once again be stressed, you have made a worthy contribution to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. With the development and production of the first 32-bit microprocessors, a further important step in the area of microelectronics is being taken, in accordance with the resolutions of the 11th SED party congress. After the first one-megabit chips were produced last September by the Carl Zeiss Jena combine, your present achievement creates the opportunity for the further expansion of the GDR's microelectronics system which will be of benefit not only to our own country.

This shows clearly that, in accordance with the direction the 7th session of the SED Central Committee indicated in preparation for our 12th party congress, work should continue at great speed and with new results on the development and application of key technologies. To raise labor productivity in this way and to save considerable amounts of energy and material in the national economy is of crucial importance for the continuation of the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy.

Dear colleagues and comrades, we are firmly resolved to fully support all initiatives in this direction, for through this course the party and state leadership of the GDR intends to help ensure that everything is being done for the benefit of the people, for the further improvement of their material and cultural living standard, for a high level of education, for a secure future for children and young people, for social progress, and for lasting peace. This is and remains the supreme maxim of our actions.

Our construction work can thrive only on the basis of great and growing achievements. In order for this to come about, the support of the whole of society will be needed in the future, as well. It depends on every tonne of coal, potash and ore produced, every tonne of rolled steel, every decitonne of grain, and on the 1,000 small items for supplying the population, up to high- value consumer goods and new products for export, which we can offer and sell on the world markets at increasing economic returns. All of that is simply unavoidable for the GDR as a highly developed industrial nation with a standard of living befitting socialism.

It is necessary not only to keep pace with the dynamics of the modern forces of production, but to increase the tempo. For this, it is known that great commitment and specialist knowledge are necessary in order to insure the continued increase in economic and social achievements.

Dear friends and comrades, if from this standpoint one looks at the benefits of your achievements to the national economy, we can draw a few important conclusions on the basis of what has been reported here. With the new generation of switching circuits, it will be possible to manufacture efficient 32-bit engineers' work stations for the automated design of switching circuits, other electronic products, and mechanical engineering products. The new computer is produced with only 10 percent of the labor, material, and energy previously used, a savings of 90 percent.

On the basis of our own 1-megabit switching circuit and the new 32-bit microprocessor, the transition can be made to making this highly productive computer available to the national economy on a large scale. That widens our technical and material possibilities for increasing labor productivity in the national economy.

By means of this, the GDR is developing into a producer of very powerful computers for demanding tasks in the design industry and for the automation and control of related production processes. This is in accordance with the requirements of the present and future.

With this level of performance, the GDR has proved that the development and production base of microelectronics created since the 11th SED Congress is in a position to develop and manufacture efficient 32-bit microprocessor systems in accordance with its own design methods. In this way, the Western embargo has been broken again and international standards have been achieved in this field, too.

At the same time, we also are meeting the commitments which we entered into in agreements with the USSR in January of this year and which we are purposefully implementing in close cooperation with Soviet research and production teams.

All in all, the development of microelectronics in the GDR underscores the validlity of the path on which we have embarked. The considerable efforts and expenditure invested in this future-oriented technology are beginning to bear fruit. They are being reflected ever more favorably in the balance sheets of the national economy and in its social aspects. They invigorate and permeate the entire national economy. Seventy percent of the products of the processing machinery construction industry is already based on microelectronics, and indeed, could not otherwise be sold with the required economic return.

Everywhere it is a matter of an even more intensive use of microelectronics. This applies to both the production of consumer goods for the home market and to exports. Here it is necessary to bring about a visible change in all areas involved in the shortest possible time and to make progress in the application of science and technology accessible to all to an even greater extent than to date. We call on everyone to assume responsibility for this.

One can truly speak only with respect for that which has been achieved. How much creativity, theoretical knowledge, and practical ability, how much initiative and willingness, how much self-sacrificing work stand behind the fact that a new generation of microelectronic switching circuits have been developed in the GDR! Moreover, the first switching circuit designs were produced in only 3 years and led to the first fully-functioning switching circuit samples. This is in line with the highest international standards.

With our achievements in combining the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism and the expansion of our social policy we are also proving that the shouts of triumph of Western media about the "failure of the socialist social concept" is not worth the money spent on it. As socialism runs its course, it's delayed by neither ox nor horse—this old adage of the German workers' movement is confirmed again today by the great initiative of the working people of the GDR. The human face of socialism cannot be distorted by those who, in the strongholds of capitalism, consider it virtually normal that mass unemployment, housing shortages, and the new poverty characterize their "free" system.

Socialism is the only social order in which man can be man, in which human work and initiative are not being misused but become effective for the well-being of the individual. That is the truth about the values of our life and our struggle. For that we fought in the Weimar Republic and in the resistance against Hitler's fascism, thus we have built a new life in the GDR after the dreadful events of World War II, and thus we are further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR.

We are not resting on our laurels. Our 12th congress will be discussing and deciding the tasks of the nineties. You, dear friends and comrades, are bringing into the discussion of its preparation your performances, your experiences, and your valuable ideas. Our meeting today proves this.

It has been reaffirmed that with the economic strategy decided on by the 11th party congress, with the whole system of management, planning, and economic accountability, the basic conditions exist in our national economy to achieve top performances. They are possible, as your example shows anew, within the shortest possible time through concentration of forces and through the appropriate work motivation. On the strong foundation of our socialist planned economy, state management, and the great amount of individual responsibility in the combines and enterprises, we are capable of undertaking qualitatively new steps.

He who strengthens socialism and our Republic acts in his very own interest and acts for the benefit of the people for a peaceful life. That is the deep sense which inspires the great initiative in town and country on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

I wish you, dear colleagues and dear comrades, further great pleasure and success in your work, and I ask you to convey warm greetings to the work forces of your enterprises.

FRG Claim of Sole Representation Protested

LD1408095589 Hamburg DPA in German
0756 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR has once again protested in sharp terms against the FRG claim for sole representation and the call for the right of self-determination for the Germans. In a whole-page article with the heading "The Socialist State Under the GDR Rule of Law—Its Progress and Its Critics," the Socialist Unity Party of Germany central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND says today in response to FRG newspaper articles that the talk of the right of self-determination for the Germans proved to be "pure hypocrisy, but it also proved to be a political concept, veiled as a legal one, of blackmailing interference in the internal affairs of the GDR and other socialist states." No one had, for example, asked the people when "the West German separate state was launched with the passing of the Bonn Basic Law on May 23d 1949."

With special reference to articles in the FRANKFURT ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND accuses the newspaper of completely denying the population of the GDR the character of a state people and thus the rank of a "subject of the right of self determination" in international law. Forty years after the founding of the Federal Republic and the GDR this is "a monstrosity." "This is a call to break off nearly all the treaties that have been concluded between the GDR and the FRG."

With the possibility of judicial reexamination of administration decisions, the GDR has "in a certain sense pursued new territory in socialist democracy." The authors described it as "nonsense" if West German critics claim that the GDR was thus following the path to a reintroduction of civil administrative jurisdiction. The judicial reexamination of administrative decisions in the GDR should help the citizens to accomplish "legitimate personal interests" as well as increase the decision-making security of those working for the state organs. At present an "administrative procedure law" is being contemplated to "regulate the overall rights of the citizens vis-a-vis the administration in the pursuit of legal rights."

ADN Denies DPA Report on Republican Party

LD1508182289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1522 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The FRG news agency DPA yesterday reported that over the weekend a so-called district association of the "Republicans," the neo-Nazi party of SS-man and member of Adolf Hitler's bodyguard Schoenhuber, was founded in a municipal district of the GDR capital. There is not a word of truth in the DPA report.

It is well known that in the GDR all neo-Nazi activities are punished in accordance with prevailing laws. The nonsense disseminated by DPA is obviously meant to divert attention from the neo-Nazi machinations in the Federal Republic and West Berlin, which deeply worry the whole world.

Afghan Ambassador on Need To End Conflict

LD1508145189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1246 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The immediate achievement of a countrywide peace in a nonaligned, neutral, sovereign, and Islamic Afghanistan has been described by Afghanistan's ambassador to the GDR, Jaylani Bakhtari, at an international press conference in Berlin today, as the most important objective of his people at present. Only on the basis of peaceful negotiations could the Afghanistan conflict be resolved and an end to foreign intervention brought about.

Any insistence on a military play-off on the part of the U.S.- and Pakistan-backed armed opposition was rejected by the people as unacceptable.

On the occasion of the 70th anniversry of Afghanistan's independence from British colonialism, the diplomat referred to the varied development of the West Asian country. In spite of the setbacks and the machinations of reactionary forces within the country and outside, intensified efforts were made for the economic and social recovery of the country since the April revolution of 1978 led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

He described the tight implementation of the four documents of the Geneva Afghanistan agreements as the internationally recognized key to resolving the conflict which has persisted for over a decade. His country and the USSR have complied with the relevant stipulations since May last year. For exactly 6 months now, according to the agreement, there have been no Soviet soldiers in the country, while mass bombardments of towns and settlements by the opposition continue, as do Western arms deliveries to the government opponents.

The ambassador stressed that only the inhabitants of the country themselves can decide on a future government in Afghanistan. To this end, the government in Kabul will continue its policy of national reconciliation with all opposition forces, characterized by flexibility and a readiness to compromise.

Berlin Mayor Meets Philippine Senate President

LD1408145489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1147 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Manila (ADN)—The chief mayor of Berlin, Erhard Krack, was received today for a friendly talk on behalf of Philippine President Corazon Aquino by Senate President Jovito Salonga. Jovito Salonga praised the GDR's broad international commitment to the consolidation of peace, trust, and security in the world. The GDR Council of State chairman, with his untiring work, is making a great personal contribution, which has become especially visible at the Berlin meeting for nuclear-free zones initiated by him.

Bilateral relations, the Senate president emphasized, have been developing in the spirit of friendship and mutual advantage. He took advantage of the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR to stress the striving for peace and dismantling of confrontation, pursued since its founding, as well as the outstanding successes of its economic and social policy.

On the same day, Erhard Krack was received by Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus. During the conversation, the politician praised the high level of relations between the Philippines and the GDR.

The chief mayor of the GDR capital paid an official visit to the Philippine capital at the invitation of his counterpart Gemiliano Lopez. During his visit, Erhard Krack had many friendly meetings with other representatives of political and social life.

Nyers Interviewed on Recent, Future Elections

AU1508144689 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, by Paul Lendvai; in Hungarian with superimposed German translation; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lendvai] Chairman Nyers, your party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, suffered a serious defeat in the recent by-elections. The opposition Democratic Forum won between 60 and 70 percent of the votes. Is this a test for the upcoming parliamentary elections? When will these elections be held, and how do you assess your chance?

[Nyers] These by-elections must be assessed as what they are. They are not insignificant. They reflect the current situation in those places—four cities—where they took place. However, it would not be correct to judge the situation in the whole country on this basis, and the upcoming elections will not necessarily show the same picture.

[Lendvai] When will these elections be held?

[Nyers] These elections could be held by the end of this year at the earliest. However, that is unlikely. It is more likely that they will take place early next year.

[Lendvai] How many parties do you think will participate?

[Nyers] I consider that more parties will be involved than took part now. That is the essential difference between these elections and the elections that will be held later on.

[Lendvai] How many?

[Nyers] I think about 10 parties.

[Lendvai] What results will your own party achieve, do you think?

[Nyers] I think that the results that my party achieved now will be approximately the same in the next elections. However, I think that we will achieve a somewhat higher percentage nationally than we achieved now.

[Lendvai] May I ask you to express this a bit more specifically?

[Nyers] I do not want to predict specific figures, because currently the political situation in Hungary is still very susceptible to change. However, I consider the percentage to be a bit more than one third.

[Lendvai] If the percentage of votes were to be more than one third, and a coalition government were to be formed, would the ruling communist party take part in it?

[Nyers] I think that our party must assume government responsibility also in the future—not in the form of a government that excludes any other parties, but in the form of a coalition government.

[Lendvai] What would happen if—theoretically speaking—the communist party were to suffer a crippling defeat, and were to score, say, less than 20 percent? Would it then go into opposition?

[Nyers] That is a hypothetical case for which we do not prepare an advance strategy. I do not consider this probable. However, we will in any case take note of the results of free elections.

[Lendvai] However, if the Hungarian electorate votes in such a way that the communist party gets fewer votes, would it be theoretically conceivable for you to go into opposition?

[Nyers] That is also conceivable. However, it is very doubtful whether it would be in the country's and the other parties' interest if we went into opposition.

[Lendvai] The leading representative of the Hungarian Democratic Forum said following his party's victory that the biggest enemy was indifference, meaning the Hungarian public's disinterest in political events.

[Nyers] Yes, disinterest was significant indeed. Partly it is also uncertainty. In the camp of non-voters, there were probably more voters of the communist party than of the other parties, in addition to the group of voters who are really indifferent.

[Lendvai] Thus, between 40 and 45 percent of the voters did not take part in the elections.

[Nyers] Yes, 40 to 45 percent did not take part. That is also owing to the fact that the voters did not attach such high importance to these by-elections as they will attach to the next general elections.

[Lendvai] So the multiparty system is already practically a fact in Hungary.

[Nyers] It is already a fact, even though no multiparty system exists by law. The parties have not been registered on the basis of a law. However, in reality, they already work.

[Lendvai] The right of assembly is also respected now.

[Nyers] Regarding the right of assembly, the People's Assembly has passed a very modern, liberal law which is in effect.

[Lendvai] How about freedom of travel?

[Nyers] Freedom of travel exists to the full extent—with regard to both entry and exit.

[Lendvai] However, the result of this is that—strictly speaking—Hungary is in an exceptional situation. You have problems with Romania; between 30,000 and 40,000 refugees are in your territory. You have problems of a different nature with Czechoslovakia and, currently, primarily with the GDR because of the refugees. How do you view the future in this respect?

[Nyers] In my assessment, the changes in Hungary have taken place very rapidly. All of East Europe, including our neighboring countries, were not prepared for them. Nor have we been able to support these rapid changes by adequate arrangements, so that we have really had certain problems.

[Lendvai] If you will permit me to ask this question—could we say that Hungary has gotten a bit too isolated in the Danube basin?

[Nyers] I would not say so. I would say that Hungary has developed further regarding civil rights, and it has been running ahead of the other socialist states. I think that the other countries have also embarked on this road; however, they are slower. But, they must embark on this road.

[Lendvai] So you believe that this development cannot be stopped elsewhere either.

[Nyers] I do not think it can; however, the circumstances are changing, and the individual countries are each in a different phase of progress.

[Lendvai] The U.S. ambassador said in an interview in Budapest that you should not care about what the neighbors say.

[Nyers] No, that is of course advice that we cannot heed. We must deal with each of our neighbors. We also dealt with Austria formerly, and we were well advised in doing so. We also deal with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, and we must also deal with Romania.

[Lendvai] There were reports that there could even be a military conflict with Romania. You met with President Ceausescu. What is your impression?

[Nyers] The problems existing between Romania and Hungary are of a political nature. They are very serious problems which we cannot solve for the time being. However, the problems are not of a military nature, and I have a low opinion of military steps—whatever they may be.

[Lendvai] Did President Ceausescu make any promises? Or was it rather a dialogue of the deaf?

[Nyers] Well, these negotiations have not reached the stage of pledges. A pledge was made in one respect, namely that Romania is prepared to receive a Hungarian state administration delegation which may collect on-the-spot information about the settlement areas in Romania.

[Lendvai] What did President Ceausescu say about the situation of the minorities, the situation of the 2 million or 2.5 million Hungarians, and the ethnic German minority?

[Nyers] The quantitative aspect of the Hungarian minority was not discussed. At any rate, I consider the figure of 2.5 million too high. According to President Ceausescu, the situation of the Hungarian and the other, the Saxon, minorities in Romania is relatively good—so good that he called it ideal.

[Lendvai] What was your reaction?

[Nyers] We said that we cannot consider the situation ideal, but consider it problematic. Everywhere minorities must have somewhat larger and more rights of freedom, that go beyond general civil rights. They must also be free with regard to their national identity.

[Lendvai] As for the problems with Czechoslovakia, do you believe that the Nagymaros power plant on the Danube will be built at all, or does the discontinuation of construction works mean that it will not be built?

[Nyers] The Czechoslovak part will be built in any case, and we take part in and promote its construction. However, it is very doubtful at present that we will set up the Hungarian part of the power plant at Nagymaros.

[Lendvai] May I ask you a personal question. In the voting on Nagymaros in Parliament last fall, you were the only member of the political leadership to abstain. If there were to be a vote today, would you vote against it?

[Nyers] Yes, I would vote against it.

[Lendvai] So we can practically assume that the Hungarian people share this view?

[Nyers] The majority of the Hungarian people are rather uncertain and troubled. Part of the opposition consists of unconvinced opponents—I must say so—however, the percentage of conscious opponents is very high among the opponents.

[Lendvai] The Moscow PRAVDA some days ago expressed concern about political developments in Hungary and in particular about the situation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. You met repeatedly with President and General Secretary Gorbachev recently. Is the Soviet Union concerned about the situation in Hungary?

[Nyers] Yes, the Soviet Union is concerned about the situation in Hungary. We, the Hungarians, are also concerned about the situation in Hungary. The Soviet leadership is also concerned about its own situation, the situation in the Soviet Union. This means that changes are taking place so rapidly, and developments are so unplanned that the element of uncertainty is significant.

[Lendvai] Do you consider developments in the Soviet Union irreversible?

[Nyers] Viewed historically, I do. In my view, Gorbachev's present policy is a historic necessity in the Soviet Union. Viewed temporarily, however, developments are reversible; at any rate, they can be halted or even be partially reversed. However, viewed on the whole, developments cannot be undone.

[Lendvai] What would happen in Hungary, if developments in the Soviet Union were to be undone?

[Nyers] It would be more difficult to implement Hungary's reform policy. However, in my view there is no immediate connection in this respect. Janos Kadar separated the political processes in Hungary a bit from the processes in the Soviet Union during the Brezhnev era when he failed to pursue Brezhnev's economic policy in Hungary.

[Lendvai] Do you believe that the present political leadership in the Soviet Union would accept a Hungarian coalition government in which the communist party did not play the leading role?

[Nyers] This question is very hypothetical. I cannot speak for the Soviet leadership. There are certain factors that are of fundamental importance for the Soviet leadership regarding its East European policy as well as its European policy.

[Lendvai] What factors are they?

[Nyers] In my view, they include the fact that the Soviet Union would not recognize a hostile regime such as the Horty regime in the thirties and early forties.

[Lendvai] Would it recognize a political system like the Austrian model?

[Nyers] Under certain circumstances, the Soviet Union might recognize a political system like the Austrian model. However, the present political situation in East Europe is by no means ripe to allow Hungary to become a country with a status such as Austria's.

[Lendvai] Meaning neutral.

[Nyers] Meaning a neutral country. I think that a change—on one side or another—of the existing balance of forces between the blocs would touch off a destabilization process.

[Lendvai] There is an economic crisis in Hungary; the country's debt is very high. When do you think a change can be brought about regarding the living standard and the debt?

[Nyers] We will be able to stabilize our international financial situation in 1 or 2 years. We started this process and have now arrived halfway. We will now have to cover the second half of the road. That will be very difficult.

[Lendvai] What do you expect of foreign capital?

[Nyers] I think that we will now really open our borders to foreign capital. I have noted that there is substantial interest. The economic units and firms of Hungary's economy are now preparing to take up this capital.

[Lendvai] Have no limits been set on foreign capital and privatization?

[Nyers] No limits have been given. For the time being, both processes can develop freely.

[Lendvai] Can we say that you are leading a party now that is becoming increasingly similar to the Austrian or German social democratic parties, and increasingly dissimilar to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany or the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, for instance?

[Nyers] Well, I do not make such a comparison, nor do I think that such a comparison is in order. However, I fully accept the statement that we are coming closer to the social democratic parties in Austria and Germany. However, the question very much is, in what direction and at what rate will the other communist parties develop regarding democratization and their alliance policy.

[Lendvai] What does that mean?

[Nyers] We are very close to the Polish party, and we are also close to the Yugoslav party in many, but not all, respects.

[Lendvai] Could we briefly say that there is no Hungarian model today, but that Hungary plays the role of a locomotive of development, so to speak?

[Nyers] Hungary is an independent country which has alliance obligations. However, I do not consider Hungary the bloc's driving force. Owing to the situation in its own country, Hungary must be its own driving force.

FRG Embassy To Provide Emergency Services

LD1608083789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] The Consular Department of the FRG Embassy in Budapest is to reopen to provide emergency service. This was announced early this morning by the West German Deutschlandfunk radio.

West German citizens can call with their problems, in emergency cases, or even visit the Consular Department if they first give them a preliminary phone call. GDR citizens will be provided with advice in the future too at the places marked, but further applicants who wish to settle in the FRG will not be admitted to the embassy.

Hungarian citizens can also submit their visa applications to travel agents in the future.

Foreign State Secretary Kovacs on GDR Refugees

LD1608085789 Budapest MTI in English 0757 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—We should review the terminology of capitalism and socialism, since the traditional, that is, 'classic' interpretation is more and more difficult to maintain. The Austrian, Finnish and Dutch social systems prove that the image of capitalism as described by Marx and Engels, the basis of the entire ideology, does not even resemble the social systems of these countries. On the other hand, socialism as defined by Marx and Engels did not materialize in any country, Laszlo Kovacs, foreign state secretary told HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] congressional deputies at the Budapest Party Committee on Tuesday.

As reported by an article in the Wednesday issue of "NEPSZABADSAG," the state secretary feels we have entered a new era in respect of the two fundamental world systems. It has become clear in West and East alike that the two fundamental ideologies have to coexist in the long run, and their interdependence is gradually

increasing. It is also proved that the effect of the crisis phenomena afflicting once this side then the other is sooner or later harmful to both sides.

On the relations between Hungary and other socialist countries, the state secretary says that a number of conflicts can be certainly tolerated by the allies. Hungary's interest is that these conflicts should not proliferate or get more serious. Yet there are cases when we should face the conflict and acknowledge the differences in views. One example is the case when Hungarian views on socialism differ from those of other countries. Here, we should voice the differences. Likewise, no reform should be postponed on account of external disapproval.

On the affair of citizens of the GDR who are in Hungary and intend to go to the FRG, Mr Kovacs said that as this conflict had not been brought about by the Hungarian state, it intended to solve the problem so that relations with both sides remain good. On the non-official information that over one million people wish to emigrate to the FRG from the GDR, he said: It is extremely unpleasant even to think about what it would be like if just a fraction of them would use Hungary as a transit to the FRG. The Geneva Refugee Convention does not pertain to this situation, as it states that Hungary should admit people who suffer persecution in their own country, but does not provide for the duties of transit countries.

Police Shoot Soviet Soldier Caught Stealing

LD1508153989 Budapest MTI in English
1405 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 15 (MTI)—On Friday night, a Hungarian police patrol on service at the house factory of Gyor used its weapon against a Soviet regular soldier caught in the act of burglary, who was attempting to flee the scene. The soldier was injured in both legs. The crime committed by the Soviet soldier and the circumstances for the use of weapon by the Hungarian police patrol are being examined by the military prosecutor's office of Gyor.

Constitution Day Celebration Events Previewed

LD1508221889 Budapest MTI in English
1952 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 15 (MTI)—This year's celebrations being organised to mark Hungary's constitution day on August 20, are being renewed both in content and form. The celebrations will be focused, for the first time in 40 years, on the founder of the Hungarian state, St Stephen, the first Hungarian king.

One of the highlights of the events will be the procession with the holy right hand of Saint Stephen (a relic held in the Basilica named after him) in Budapest. Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Fsztergom, is to celebrate a mass in the basilica on the occasion.

The Budapest committee of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] will be holding celebratory events on Margaret island, along with the left-wing Youth Alliance. Karoly Grosz and Janos Barabas are among the invited guests.

Organizations of the opposition roundtable are also holding events, and Istvan Csurka will be speaking at the rally, to be held on the eve of the celebrations. The Hungarian Democratic Forum is to hold events in the city park on August 20.

The traditional taking of the oath by army officers will take place for the 21st occasion on Kossuth Square, near the parliament building. A firework display will be given in the evening.

According to the decision of the government and the HSWP presidium, Cegled will be in the focus of celebrations, where Miklos Nemeth, prime minister will be giving a speech.

Independence Party on Renaming Streets, Titles

LD1508234289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] The Hungarian Independence Party calls on the inhabitants of Budapest and the Budapest Council to use, instead of the title council chairman, the form of address of mayor [polgarmester] or lord mayor [fopolgarmester] again. It also proposes that in the greater Budapest area, the streets whose names recall bad memories be renamed after outstanding personal personalities of our history. For example, it is seen as especially important that Nepkoztarsasag Road be called Imre Nagy Road, and that Lenin Boulevard be called Pal Maleter Boulevard, since the tragic fate of both of these people is linked to these locations.

The Independence Party opposes the renovation and reinstallation of the Lenin Statue at Heroes' Square. The party believes it is not necessary to set up a memorial home for Janos Kadar, since he was a direct participant in the execution of the martyrs of the revolution.

Lawyers Forum Leader on Youth Union Campaign

LD1508203389 Budapest MTI in English
1925 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 15 (MTI)—The signature collecting campaign of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Union (DEMISZ) to be held for the purpose of urging the election of a president of state prior to the national elections, is considered to be a violation of the preliminary agreements signed on the political conciliatory discussions, it was reported to MTI by Imre Konya, leader of the Independent Lawyer's Forum, one of the founders of the opposition roundtable. Although DEMISZ declared that it does not intend to anticipate events and agreements to be signed at the trilateral

discussions, Mr Konya continued, their envisaged campaign is of a confrontation character, with the intention of dividing the opposition. In addition it is considered a superflous demonstration of power, because it is public knowledge that the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] could have the bill on the post of president adopted by the parliament, if it so wished. The HSWP has however declared that laws necessary for a peaceful transition will be elaborated together with the opposition. Therefore it would be considered a retreat on the part of the HSWP if at the initiative of DEMISZ the relevant bill would be submitted to parliament, over the head of the opposition movement.

Mr Konya confirmed the stand of the opposition roundtable that the post of the president of the Republic should be adopted by the new parliament. In the meantime the Presidential Council should be disbanded, whose very limited jurisdiction would be temporarily carried out by the speaker of the parliament. If the parliament were to pass, at public initiative, the law on the new president at this stage, it is not at all desirable to hold an American-type election campaign, in view of the present political circumstances, because the opposition would also nominate their candidate. In Mr Konya's opinion, if Imre Pozsgay were to be elected president of the Republic, the reform wing of the HSWP would be weakened considerably which would put peaceful transition at risk.

Independent TV Transmissions Set for 19 Aug

LD1508142289 Budapest MTI in English
1308 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 15 (MTI)—'NAP TV' (TV-AM), an independent television programme founded by MOVI (the Hungarian Cinema and Video Company) and the "Mai Nap" (Today) Corporation, will begin transmissions on Saturday, August 19. The new breakfast news magazine is to broadcast twice a week on Wednesday and Saturday mornings from 5.30 to 9 A.M., and will present the latest news reports, traffic, weather and cultural information, alongside lots of music, sports news and commercials.

The technical background for the programme is being provided by the technical means and experts of MOVI. The studio has been set up in MOVI's film studio site in Kalman Konyves Boulevard, Budapest, and most of the information background, editors, and reporters are being provided by the editorial offices and the newspaper "MAI NAP". Hungarian radio staff and writers from the written press will also contribute. TV-AM will broadcast on Channel 1 of Hungarian Television (MTV 1), on the basis of a permit issued after a professional opinion by MTV, before the ban on new programmes came into force. The licence runs from June 30 to December 31.

The new magazine is financially independent from Hungarian television. Relying on the capital of the founders, the programme will have to cover its costs from its own revenues, from commercial activities and sponsors.

If all goes according to plan, the editorial office of TV-AM will have a staff of between 30 and 35. The new programme also wishes to be politically independent and will provide an opportunity for the manifestations of the various political forces and the public clashing of various views.

The programme, which will go out live, counts on the active interest of viewers, and strives continuously to be in touch with them.

News reports from the paper "MAI NAP" and other sources will be supplemented with the latest information by telephone, on-the-spot reports, police, commercial-economic, market, traffic and weather reports and services.

New Publication Launched on Constitution

LD1508154889 Budapest MTI in English
1456 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 15 (MTI)—Constitutionalization should become the cause of the entire people, and cannot remain the internal affair of a limited professional strata. The recently launched series "Constitutional Law Leaflets" aims to promote this idea. The publication wishes to become the forum of views—irrespective of party standing—that can be used in the course of drafting the constitution, said Deputy Minister of Justice Geza Kilenyi, presenting the new publication at a press conference on Tuesday in Budapest.

The deputy minister stressed that although the regulation principles of the new constitution were approved by the current parliament, the basic law itself will be framed by the National Assembly to come about on the basis of fresh democratic elections. The closing act of the process will be a referenda in which the voters will, on the one hand, reconfirm or reject the constitution as a whole, and decide on several other issues such as the coat of arms of the country.

Answering questions, Mr Kilenyi said that the Constitutional Law Leaflets are mainly intended for college and university students, as the Marxism-Leninism departments of the universities are being transformed into socio-political departments one after the other, but for the time being have not drawn up a curriculum.

If the sides to the three-sided political talks do not reach a consensus in the issue, the Council of Ministers will submit the bills indispensable for the peaceful transition to the next session of parliament, Mr Kilenyi said in answer to a question. Alongside the government's position, the counter views of the negotiating sides in the debated issues will also be presented to parliament, and the MPs will ultimately decide. If the debate on the vital bills on the president of the Republic, the amendment of the constitution, the settlement of the legal situation of political parties and the constitutional court are again postponed, then the legislative process that began in December of 1987 would be broken off and the country would become ungovernable. This naturally does not mean the breaking off of the political coordination talks, Mr Kilenyi said.

Jaruzelski To Convene Meeting To Seek Solutions

LD1508153189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski intends to convene a meeting of the principal political and social forces in order to find sensible solutions. He is concerned about the growing instability of the economic and political situation.

Presidential Statement

LD1508172289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Statement from the Office of the President of the Polish People's Republic]

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski expresses concern in connection with the growing instability of Poland's political and economic situation. The president intends to ask the country's principal political and social forces to take part in a joint meeting devoted to finding rational solutions. Being eager for this meeting to take place as soon as possible, at the same time Wojciech Jaruzelski appeals for resistance to sociopolitical emotions that hinder national accord, and as a result, deteriorate the working people's difficult living conditions.

Walesa Interviewed on Government Formation Talks

LD1508143389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] From an interview given in Gdansk today by Lech Walesa, chairman of the NSZZ [Independent, Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity to a Polish radio reporter, it follows that talks are continuing in Warsaw between Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Lech Walesa's plenipotentiary, and representatives of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD]. The talks concern the formation of a new coalition and the appointment of a government.

Lech Walesa said in the interview, among other things, that Czeslaw Kiszczak's latest statement declaring his readiness to resign the office of premier made it possible, in forming a new government, to search for such solutions as would be more to the satisfaction of the public. At the same time the NSZZ Solidarity chairman added that if a new coalition were to be created, with the participation first and foremost of Solidarity, the ZSL, and the SD, it would be precisely these political forces that would determine jointly the best candidate for premier.

Lech Walesa also stated that it is not a question of removing the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] from power. The key sectors which determine physical continuity should remain with the PZPR. We, he added, do not want to take power away, but we do want to carry out a great reform which the PZPR cannot carry out. This reform can be carried out by new forces, but they have to be forces which do not destroy the European order and which do not represent threats to the Warsaw Pact.

Further on Interview

LD1508155189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1405 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of Solidarity, by correspondent Krzysztof Milewczyk in Gdansk on 15 August—recorded]

[Text] [Milewczyk] Lech Walesa, chairman of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity, yesterday you very quickly returned from Warsaw to Gdansk. Why?

[Walesa] It means I do not like wasting time. I like to get my business done; I like to get the work finished and if I finish it, I like to devote time to nature, the family, and so on. Because I carried out what was possible yesterday I returned home quickly.

[Milewczyk] You did not participate directly in the talks with the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and the SD [Democratic Party]?

[Walesa] That's right, I didn't, because matters have not matured sufficiently for us, those who lead these movements, to make decisions which would satisfy all sides. Simply, in short, I was not yet satisfied with the decisions that had been determined.

[Milewczyk] Since about 12 or so hours ago the political situation in our country has changed diametrically. Could you comment on that and how does that relate to your grand coalition proposals?

[Walesa] Well, the first thing is that I should really say a very big thank you to General Kiszczak. He behaved like a man. This enables us to search for solutions which would be more to the satisfaction of the public. Although privately, as a person, well, he made a real man's decision which was not to his advantage but Poland needed it.

And now, in accordance with what I have proposed, we have to think about it. One thing which worries me is that at the same time he proposed Mr Malinowski [as premier]. That is not the way to do it. If a new coalition is created, and I do hope that it is created, as yet we cannot say that it has been created but it should be created, a coalition first and foremost of Solidarity, the ZSL, and the SD, we shall jointly determine who would be the most suitable [premier] for Poland, who would have greatest opportunities for Poland, and after this is determined by the coalition we shall ask the president to put that candidate forward because everyone is agreed on him. Just as the general did the first part really well, like a man, so is the second part unnecessary. We shall think about who would be most suitable for Polish solutions.

[Milewczyk] Could one say at this moment that you are for the candidacy of Malinowski as premier or not?

[Walesa] (?I didn't say) either for or against, but I am only talking about the methods. One cannot proceed in that way. The forces that want to pull Poland out of the crisis in a coalitionary manner must now decide who has the greatest chance, from the public side and from the coalition side, and not impose someone as is being done. Solidarity does not have the right to impose Mr Malinowski nor does Mr Malinowski have the right to impose himself on Solidarity. We will agree together through compromise who in our opinion is most deserving.

[Milewczyk] Can you see the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] in your grand coalition?

[Walesa] Today with society's anger with the lack of settlement on many issues, and with the PZPR's lust for monopoly, plus the fact that the new coalition will have to firmly come out against many monopolies, the PZPR is not capable—it has connections too great, has worked for too many years—above all it will not carry out what Poland needs. This is not pushing the PZPR from power. I think that the most important ministries, which assure a physical continuity ought to stay within the scope of the PZPR, as we do not want to take power away. We want to carry out a great reform, which cannot be carried out by the PZPR. That is why all the administrative things, all the economic issues, all the things leading to reform must be someone's perogative other than the PZPR, as the PZPR has no interest and has been in power for too long to be able to do that by its very nature, as has been the case. Only new forces can do that—forces that do not destroy the European order, do not pose threats to those alliances connected with the Warsaw Pact. We understand all that. All those continuous factors should be maintained but allow new forces for new solutions.

[Milewczyk] I have one more question to conclude with. At what stage are your talks with the ZSL and SD?

[Walesa] From what information I have today, the talks and consultations are going on without a break. That is because above all the SD and ZSL must understand that a new coalition is needed, but not to outmaneuver the old one, but to bring in new things. Let there only be agreement to a new coalition and to understanding it, then, for the rest, we are capable of reaching agreement on other matters. To reach agreement on personnel matters and on professional issues—these are secondary matters. Today the important thing is to understand the need for a new coalition.

[Malewczyk] Who from each of the sides is taking part in these talks, and where are they being held?

[Walesa] For the time being the one who leads for my side, who has all the authority, is Jaroslaw Kaczynski; he is helped by his brother Lech Kaczynski. Of course, in the district [obwod] there is our club, and Professor Geremek has returned, among other things. However, I repeat: On my side, directly and in fact, there is Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who has already been in touch with us today and said that he is holding talks (?with Lech).

[Milewczyk] Where are they being held?

[Walesa] Above all in Warsaw but there will be some in Gdansk.

[Milewczyk] More precisely?

[Walesa] [Words indistinct] of my house and not only.

Walesa Expects 'Early Talks'

LD1508181189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] In Gdansk today, during a meeting with journalists, Lech Walesa said:

[Begin recording] [Walesa] Now we are expecting talks, early talks, because we must quickly form a government which will solve Poland's problems.

I am counting on the president to communicate quickly with all major parties, which will assist and together with which we will create something new for Poland.

[Unidentified reporter] Is it a matter of several days, a week?

[Walesa] We are ready for fast action. There is no time. (?We have) less and less time. Now society needs a government of accord and reforms, but fundamental, not cosmetic reforms.

[Reporter] Have you any names in mind?

[Walesa] Well, the name is reform, deep reform. Once we sit down to it, after agreeing on major reform, we'll find names too. [end recording]

Walesa Welcomes Resignation

LD1508184189 Warsaw PAP in English 1804 GMT 15 Aug 89

["Walesa's Statement"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 15—I welcomed General Czeslaw Kiszczak's statement in which he declared readiness to give up the forming of a government and the post of prime minister as a move resulting from the sense of responsibility for Poland and aiming at opening up new possibilities of solving the present government crisis. I still fully uphold the stance expressed in the statement of August 7.

A government of national responsibility formed with the preservation of respect for prerogatives of Poland's president by the coalition of Solidarity, the UPP [United Peasant Party] and the DP [Democratic Party] is today the only chance of changing the course of events which is dangerous for this country.

Walesa Attends Commemoration

LD1508220189 Warsaw PAP in English
2115 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 15—The "August Days" event in the Tricity, organised by the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] "Solidarity" to commemorate the outbreak of workers' protests in 1980, was opened during a field mass in front of the monument to the fallen shipyard workers here today.

During the ceremony recalling the events which took place nine years ago, a speech was delivered by Lech Walesa who appealed for reason and sense of social responsibility for the process of reforms, for wise work of the whole society as well as creation of a new government of reforms and national agreement as soon as possible.

The "August Days" event is to last in the Tricity of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot for two weeks.

Government Presidium Views Socioeconomic Problems

LD1508152689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] The Government Presidium, meeting under the chairmanship of Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak, has assessed the country's socioeconomic situation. Decisions aimed at improving supplies to the market were adopted. The domestic trade minister was instructed to ensure that supplies to the large conurbations are improved. The minister of industry was tasked with the rapid introduction of the manufacture of machinery and equipment for agriculture in arms industry factories. The minister of agriculture and food industry is to speed the elimination of monopolies in food production, processing, procurement, and distribution. A number of other steps were also taken.

Sejm To Discuss Budget, Interior Ministry Probe

LD1508183989 Warsaw PAP in English
1800 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 15—The Sejm will hold its 5th meeting on Wednesday and Thursday. It will start tomorrow at 11 A.M.

The agenda includes the first reading of the draft amendments to the budget law for 1989 and the proposed amendments to several other laws. The deputies will also hear the first reading of a draft resolution amending the Sejm resolution on the crediting plan and the proposed monetary-crediting policy in 1989.

Government and National Bank of Poland representatives are expected to present these proposals to the house, after which discussion will follow.

The agenda also includes the first reading of a government bill on the rural social fund. The Sejm is also expected to elect an extraordinary committee to examine the activities of the Internal Ministry.

The final part of the meeting will be devoted to interpellations and questions.

Sejm Opens; Statement on Intervention in CSSR

LD1608100789 Warsaw PAP in English
0934 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Aug. —A two-day meeting of the Sejm has opened today. The agenda envisages, among other items, the first reading of a draft law on changing the budget law for 1989. A new item has been added: adoption by the Sejm of a statement concerning the 21st anniversary of the intervention of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty in Czechoslovakia. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0904 GMT on 16 August in a live relay of the Sejm session reports that the motion to adopt the statement passed with (?282) deputies voting for, 8 against, and (?15) abstaining]

Ministry Seeks Evidence for 'Political Murders'

LD1408201189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 14 aug 89

[Text] In a letter to Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Zbigniew Pudysz has again asked that Deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk present to the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic via the speaker, facts substantiating the accusations of the alleged political murders carried out by the internal affairs sector since the introduction of martial law. It follows from the numerous letters to the Internal Affairs Ministry, writes Zbigniew Pudysz, that these accusations deeply perturb public opinion which demands that the facts be presented. This matter, the deputy minister's letter adds, is of significance for the internal affairs sector because it is connected with public confidence.

Jaruzelski Discusses Economy With Vice Premiers

LD1008011589 Warsaw PAP in English
2253 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 9—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Vice Premiers Ireneusz Sekula and Kazimierz Olesiak who briefed him about the government work and about the introduction of market mechanisms into food economy.

The government started actions designed to increase supply of meat and meat products and other foodstuffs. In some regions they are bringing about noticeable effects.

The government economic committee decided to increase additional pays and additional social benefits connected with price hikes. Old-age and disability pensions will be higher by more than 100 percent as of September this year.

The government is working on the introduction of moves announced by Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak. Under way is work on an immediate-action programme.

Under the economic programme for 1989-1992 under way are preparations of a concept of the national property fund and ownership changes in the economy, and so is work on a draft law on the minister of treasury.

Having held highly the to-date efforts of the government, the president stressed that the difficult socio-economic situation required that the work initiated by the government should be accelerated.

Geremek: PZPR Possible Government Partner

PM1408115489 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 11 Aug 89 p 2

[Interview with Solidarity adviser Bronislaw Geremek by Andrea Tarquini in Rome on 10 August]

[Text] Rome—"We will fully honor all Poland's commitments and international alliances, starting with our duties as a Warsaw Pact member country. In this respect too we are and want to be a government force." "A government without communists? No, that is not to be taken for granted: The fact that we can lead the government does not at all rule out their presence in the same government." This was said by Professor Bronislaw Geremek, Walesa's chief adviser and the leader of Solidarity's parliamentary group. Together with Adam Michnik, Geremek visited Rome, where he met briefly with the pope yesterday (though a discussion of the Polish situation was postponed.) Let us hear what he and Adam Michnik will be telling the pope.

[Tarquini] Mr Geremek, you said yesterday that you are ready to shoulder state responsibilities. Is that not a threat to the USSR?

[Geremek] I believe that the most important problems concern Poland, not the international aspects of the situation. For the first time since the end of World War II the future of an Eastern bloc country's reforms is entirely dependent on the country concerned. It is the Gorbachev phenomenon, the present situation in the USSR, and the policy of its leadership that make this possible. Of course there are limits, which are not well-defined. The question of how far we can go without clashing with the USSR remains unanswered. Though dangerous, it is necessary to seek these limits in practice.

[Tarquini] In order to provide Moscow with what guarantees?

[Geremek] We say, stress, and repeat that we are willing to honor all Poland's international commitments. Including, of course, those to the Warsaw Pact. We point out, however, that historically the Warsaw Pact, as a military alliance, has only ever gone into action within the socialist camp, as a weapon against the peoples of its own member countries. I believe, however, that the Warsaw Pact's character is changing: At its latest summit in Bucharest they declared that the Pact must transform itself into a political, much more than military, international organization. So within this framework we fully agree to belong to it and hope that it will change and accept the sovereignty of its member peoples and states.

[Tarquini] Even if a communist party is expelled from power for the first time?

[Geremek] Of course it would be the first time, but I fear that Western observers are forgetting the realities of our regime: How can it be said that a party that retains, and will continue to retain, control of the armed forces and the police will go into opposition? The armed forces and their control are a crucial factor in our political situation.

[Tarquini] Yes, but they would be excluded from the coalition...

[Geremek] Who said so? Not us, for a start. The idea of the Polish United Workers Party's [PZPR] transfer to the opposition was presented last Monday in their official organ, TRYBUNA LUDU: It expressed the hope that the communist party would go into opposition and that by so doing it could regain society's support and trust and no longer be considered exclusively to blame for the present situation. I believe that we made the only possible reply to that article—to say that we are willing to shoulder state responsibilities and that if the PZPR wants to go into opposition its path is clear. Hitherto, however, there are no signs of any such desire: On the contrary, their leaders are spectacularly confirming their desire to retain it [sentence as published].

[Tarquini] Are you willing to offer them positions in the government?

[Geremek] Yes. I believe that the PZPR could be won back to a blueprint for a coalition for reforms. We are on the road to democracy, but are not yet a fully democratic country: There is the danger of aggressive stances on the part of the nomenklatura unless they see positions for them in the government. This is why we are willing to accept their presence in the government. Why not guarantee that they will in any case control the defense and interior ministries? We must not forget, however, that the president, General Jaruzelski, possesses absolute powers over the army, the police force, and the safeguarding of our alliances. So the party's leading role is guaranteed by the president, and the head of state remains the supreme guarantor of the USSR's interests.

[Tarquini] Why, then, did Walesa offer a government accord only to the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party and not to the PZPR as well?

[Geremek] The significance of Walesa's proposal is that we can form a parliamentary majority with the two minor parties. However, Walesa never said a word about excluding the PZPR a priori. I believe that the way to a coalition with them too remains open. What we are demanding is not to form and to lead the government, but to make a break with the single-party monopoly. We do not want to exclude them, however.

[Tarquini] What will be your government priorities if you do form the executive?

[Geremek] The majority priority will be economic reform, and here there are no miracle cures. There will be an evolution entailing social costs, but we hope to extricate Poland from its profound crisis.

[Tarquini] How?

[Geremek] The first problem is agriculture. It must be given priority and made the driving force of economic recovery.

[Tarquini] Is this the Hungarian formula?

[Geremek] Well, in a way. It is easy to achieve results in agriculture in a year: by means of a genuine market policy, by providing credits, and by ensuring the functioning of the agricultural machinery industry and the food industry. And market prices must be guaranteed. The second priority, in our opinion, is the privatization of industry. Third, our currency must be turned into a real currency.

[Tarquini] Will a radical reform entailing price hikes and perhaps redundancies not cause dissatisfaction and protests?

[Geremek] We are aware of the social cost of the reforms, but hope that Solidarity, as a trade union, will accept this fact and convince people of the need for sacrifices.

[Tarquini] Nevertheless the strikes are spreading at the moment and Solidarity is supporting them. How is social peace to be guaranteed?

[Geremek] The situation is indeed explosive, and an explosion of dissatisfaction is possible at any moment. However, we believe that a government strengthened by the people's support and composed of the winners in the election has a better chance of resolving the situation. The current strikes are action in pursuit of demands, but the chief factor behind the strikes is the exhaustion of hope. Of course social tension can be used by our adversaries, by the enemies of the reforms: In an economic emergency situation any provocation or sabotage becomes easy. However, this is a risk that must be taken.

[Tarquini] What if Jaruzelski uses his institutional powers to prevent you from forming a government?

[Geremek] Of course he has the means to do so: He can dissolve parliament, declare a parliamentary recess, introduce martial law... but what for? Bayonets and tanks do not resolve economic crises, as we saw following 1981.

[Tarquini] Do Prague's and Berlin's fears not worry you?

[Geremek] Of course the East German and Czechoslovak Governments fear us much more than the Kremlin, but fortunately those authorities—unlike the CPSU—cannot influence the PZPR's conduct.

Solidarity Executive Commission Meeting Reported

AU1408140389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Aug 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Communique by the Presidium of the 'Solidarity' National Executive Commission"]

[Text] Gdansk—The Presidium of the National Executive Commission of the "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union met in Gdansk on 8 August.

1. The Presidium heard a report on the wage and social benefit increases payable as a result of the food price increases. The Presidium submitted to the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy a communique saying:

—The proposed increases in wages and benefits are incommensurate with the latest price increases. Greater increases to wages and benefits and a minimum old-age pension are called for;

—Periodic adjustments of wages and pensions are called for as of August;

—Mindful of the economic situation of the poorest members of society, the government should urgently make products bearing official prices permanently available on the market.

2. The Presidium examined the current sociopolitical situation in Poland, and asked regional and factory-level trade unions to consider protest action. On the basis of the opinions of union members, the Presidium indicated an urgent need for the Citizens Parliamentary Club to set up, in alliance with the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party, a government that enjoys society's support, a government capable of carrying through complete political and economic reforms. The Presidium insisted that "Solidarity's" present political tactics should become more energetic, so that the union's activity may forestall events.

3. The Presidium discussed the question of "Solidarity's" access to radio and television, and suggested the appointment of a temporary Presidium plenipotentiary for radio and television affairs. Jerzy Zdrada was nominated for this post.

4. The Presidium heard a report on the work of the commission dealing with claims concerning "Solidarity" assets. The National Trade Union Confederation is making it difficult for "Solidarity" to regain its assets, said the Presidium. In particular, the resale of these assets is a violation of the "roundtable" agreements. Representatives of this commission were asked to take this matter up with the Confederation's Executive Committee.

5. The Presidium asked the Citizens Parliamentary Club to see to it that the budget law abolishes the financial limitations applicable to units that form part of the budgetary sphere.

6. The Presidium discussed the appointment of a congress commission, which will submit a draft National Executive Commission resolution for consultation by regional "Solidarity" structures.

7. In addition, the Presidium discussed the following issues:

—The situation in industries under the control of the Minister of Transportation brought about by the strikes and negotiations;

—The functioning of factory structures situated outside the main factory premises;

—According the "Solidarity" name and logo a legal copyright;

—The appointment of medical chambers.

The Presidium adopted relevant documents to be discussed at the next "Solidarity" National Executive Commission plenum in Gdansk on 19 August.

Finally, the Presidium issued a statement saying: The latest changes to the leadership do not permit any hopes that the political and economic situation will heal. At the same time, we are witnessing an uncontrolled rise of prices and wages and a collapse of the food market.

In connection with this, the Presidium of the National Executive Commission of the "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union asks regional "Solidarity" authorities to discuss protest action with factory commissions.

Solidarity Daily: Opposition at 'Impasse'

AU1408155589 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11-14 Aug 89 p 3

[Wojciech Gielzynski article: "Facing Forward But Going Backwards"]

[Text] One can lose many battles but win the war, and vice versa. We have won many battles. The "roundtable" resurrected "Solidarity." The elections brought us total triumph. The visit of President Bush was a real success. Then, we had several victorious skirmishes, namely, Rakowski's government and the Ministry of Internal Affairs were brought before the parliamentary special commission. In the battle "to be or not to be" in the government, we have performed skillful avoidance maneuvers. We can congratulate ourselves on our tactical skills.

Regrettably, our strategic situation has rather deteriorated. Additionally, our rank and file are somewhat confused by the twists and turns of our commanders, especially those at staff headquarters.

It seems as if they have not thoroughly thought out the plan for the whole war. They have accepted the 4-year doctrine of "democratization through parliamentarization" as if one could allow oneself the luxury of planning for that length of time, not to mention the counterattacks of the enemy.

For the time being the president has the power to bring about a cabinet crisis (to which he seems to be aiming) and dissolve parliament. Let us suppose, however, that he will not do this. Even accepting this eventuality, the parliament is not and will not be a source of power, and our strong group of Sejm deputies and Senators group will be reduced to futile gestures until they receive powerful backing by organized social forces.

Last spring I wrote in the Paris-published KONTAKT: "I consider it complete self-deception to think that clever machinations with 35 percent of the deputies, plus the dissidents from the United Peasants Party, the Democratic Party, and the Catholic parliamentary groupings added to a qualified Senate majority will give a situation in which we shall effectively be able to influence the system of government, and force the Communists onto the defensive. This will take a very long time indeed." Regrettably, this is what has happened. We shall have a long wait yet. Communist power has been able to entrench itself in the key positions. The great triumvirate holds more aces necessary for the real political game than it did a year ago. All this has happened with our tacit acceptance and even with our help, which was given for nothing at certain decisive moments.

And what about us? We have found ourselves fragmented, tied down, and riddled with defeatism. We allowed ourselves to be hypnotized by the mirage of the parliamentary game, that is, by the substitute for the real struggle of political forces. We have neglected to

strengthen our front-line and reserve forces, forces that can only come from the workers class. Additionally, we have lost a significant portion of society's trust.

I re-emphasize; since the price of "Solidarity's" legalization had to be acceptance of partially free elections (perhaps it did not have to be?) then, quite correctly, our main fire had to be directed for several weeks at the elections, even at the expense of the main tasks of our union. Thanks to this we gained a great show of support for our aims and a large number of the parliamentary seats, an important auxiliary element in our political battle.

I also consider that it is necessary to reach some compromise with the authorities, because it is not worth drowning together. However, negotiating to reach a compromise should have nothing to do with appeasement.

Our leaders it would seem, have overlooked this principle. The result is that we have lost the most crucial encounters.

First, we allowed the government-coalition side to regroup, which brought them a) the presidential position of a super-arbiter, b) the consolidation of the party caused by a weakening of that party wing which was ready for compromise and by the advancement of the hard-liners and "young wolves"—pragmatic authoritarians, and c) the government of a successive general who is a wily politician, but has no economic competence, which holds true for the other members of the triumvirate.

Each of these people, I am sure, has good intentions, but having filled the key state positions, as in the past, they will be deluded into thinking that "the worst is behind us" and that one can again ignore the laments of the citizens and the protests of the opposition. "We do not feel we have to grovel," Rakowski summed it up.

Second, we did not react to the gambit of letting prices rocket sky-high; here the government was helped by the action of the free-market oppositionist extremists, who ignore the fact that one cannot leap over the chasm wrought by 40 years of a centralist economy by simply freeing the market without first breaking the monopoly system and creating the base for private trade and authentic cooperatives. The effects are a price shock, empty shops, a spreading wave of poverty, apathy, frustration, and the beginnings of an antisocial attitude—"the devil take the hindmost."

Third, as a result of these developments the authority of our union has been severely weakened. Our union is blamed for not preventing the formation of the present extremely unfavorable power configuration—at the head of which stand people who are symbols of the martial law period, and above all our union is blamed for abandoning its role as a defensive shield of the workers class for long-term and none too precise aims.

How to extricate ourselves from the impasse in which we find ourselves through no fault of our own? This is a subject which calls for separate treatment. In passing, I would just add one thing, the power of the union, and thus the chance for democracy, lies in the factory and work places, and not on the parliamentary benches. We do not need to turn this factor into programs—we have had enough of these—but we must set to work immediately.

Polish Peasant Party Reconstituted

LD1508194589 Warsaw PAP in English 1915 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 15—Peasant activists from all Poland who held a meeting here today decided to resume the activity of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) which ceased to exist in 1947. The meeting was attended by more than 120 people—former PSL activists, soldiers of peasants' battalions, and representatives of Solidarnosc of Individual Farmers, the Peasant Youth Union ZMW, and the All-Polish Social Committee for Peasant Movement Revival.

After a mass in the Saint Anna Church in the Warsaw District of Wilanow in the intention of the homeland and the PSL, participants in the meeting responded to the appeal by General Franciszek Kaminski, main commander of the peasants' battalions and member of the former PSL main authorities, and passed a declaration on the resumption of the PSL activity on the basis of the PSL programme adopted during its congress in January 1946.

The meeting set up a 24 strong provisional main executive committee. General Franciszek Kaminski was appointed honorary president of the committee which includes also representatives of Solidarnosc of Individual Farmers.

National Party To Resume Activity

LD1108203289 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—At a meeting here senior activists of Polish nationalist movement decided to revive the "Stronnictwo Narodowe" (National Party).

The convention of seniors and its presidium composed of Jan Matlachowski, Adam Krajewski and Tadeusz Krzyszowski will be provisional chief authorities of the party until its congress starts on next September 9.

Glemp: War Losses Underlie Poor Economy

LD1508195289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Feast of the Assumption of the most Holy Virgin Mary was restored this year in Poland under agreements with the church.

[Unidentified correspondent] For 2 weeks now, pilgrims from all over the country have been heading for Jasna Gora. One hundred and forty thousand of the faithful took part in them. The most numerous was a 30,000-strong group from Warsaw. At 0800 a holy mass was celebrated by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland. During the high mass at 1100 he delivered a sermon in which he said:

[Begin Glemp recording] Coming here on the feast of the glory of Mary, the feast of her assumption, to Jasna Gora and ending this year's pilgrimage at the summit, we want to listen to her every word and understand them in the context of our reality, in our generation, in the circumstances of the changes taking place both in the world and in the homeland. A great moral rebirth is needed, such that life in every area becomes more human, civilized, and fraternal. [applause]

We want, however, to oppose firmly the accusation which sees the reasons for the economic failure in the character of the Poles. Indeed, we work hard, very hard and there is no lack of initiative. The Polish worker is highly valued throughout the whole world. [applause]

Other reasons which underlie our troubles must be recalled: first and foremost, wartime destruction and the fact of the denial of reparations and civil-legal damages to us for the losses. We were to have had accounts settled from the pool of money of the Soviet Union, but the Soviet Union relinquished its claims in 1953 and Poland also relinquished hers. This is greatly simplified, but it is well-known that Poland, in comparison to other countries that suffered losses, did not receive damages in proportion to the wrongs done. [applause]

Thorough examination of this disclosure is a moral dictate, for the nation, oppressed by the repayment of interest on loans, has the right at a time of crisis to defend itself as well by reassessing the causes that pushed her to the bottom economically.

My dearest people! This is how we come to Mary, as she came to Saint Elizabeth, to tell our troubles and worries; that is how we come. We thank God through her for the good changes which have taken place in Poland and at the same time we ask her to intercede further for more changes, so that God may fill the hungry with good things, to the standard of the civilization achieved by society; so that the transformations (?may come from) our consciences and our hearts. [end recording]

Malinowski Meets Soviet Ambassador

LD1108203989 Warsaw PAP in English 1944 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—Chairman of the CC [Central Committee] of the United Peasant Party (UPP) Roman Malinowski met today with Soviet Ambassador to Poland Vladimir Brovikov to discuss the start and development of direct cooperation between the UPP and the CPSU.

The sides briefed each other on the course of reforms in both countries and consolidation of all-round mutual relations.

Party Daily Views 1968 CSSR Invasion

AU1408151789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-15 Aug 89 p 3

[Unsigned editorial: "The Czechoslovak August 21 Years Later"]

[Excerpts] Our most recent past has become a major topic of discussion in recent years. Individual facts and events are being looked at anew. Old assessments are being revised, and new ones are being formulated. This is natural, just as extending the range of these subjects must be considered something natural. They must be extended to include the joint military operation that was undertaken in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 by five states that belong to the Warsaw Pact: the USSR, GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Poland. [passage omitted]

There is no doubt that for a long time to come there will continue to be a debate about whether the judgments made in 1968 were right, whether the decisions based on them were justified, whether they were needed at all in the form that they took, and whether the ultimate result was advantageous, or whether it also entailed losses.

However, these debates, as a way of establishing all the factors involved and of creating a full picture in accordance with reality, cannot be aided by taking over the task of passing judgment by those whose job it is to do so—that is, above all, the Czechs and Slovaks. It is for them to judge their own history. To deprive them of this right is nothing but a contemporary means of political interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia and a violation of its internal political sovereignty that differs only in form. Our relations with our southern neighbor, our second largest economic partner and a country with which we are linked by numerous cooperation ties, must remain protected. This is dictated by our national interest and by the Polish raison d'etat.

Every form of intervention or interference, behind whatever smoke screen it may be undertaken, would therefore violate the principles on which are based our good and friendly relations with Czechoslovakia, the other states belonging to the Warsaw Pact, and the European states in general. Our alliance has now rejected the doctrine that was previously binding and was a burden on mutual relations. Nowadays, our fraternal ties are based on equality, on mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs. This is also borne out by the statement issued at the July conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member States.

That is also how relations between socialist countries are now viewed by the leader of the country that 21 years ago was deemed to be the center that had an overriding influence on what is happening in the socialist countries

and in relations between them. Speaking at the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg on 6 July, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "Any kind of interference in the internal affairs, any kinds of attempts to curtail the sovereignty of states, both friendly, allied, or any other kinds of states, are impermissible."

These words apply to the present. They point to the road that thinking in the socialist countries has traveled, but they also stem from the changes that have taken place in the world. These changes have also occurred in the West and not just in the East. We live in a world that is different from the one that existed in the second half of the sixties. August 21, 1968, already belongs to the past, but this does not mean that it is solely and exclusively the preserve of historians. Irrespective of the degree to which the assessments and arguments that were current at that time are recognized, that summer of 21 years ago is a painful memory, because nothing can alter the fact that our forces, carrying out the orders of the highest state authorities, found themselves on Czechoslovak territory to perform certain functions in line with what were understood as defense tasks at that time, and within the framework of alliance obligations. Irrespective of the considerations by which the political leadership at that time was guided, today the issue involves the highest moral and political principles. The violation of these principles, even in the best possible faith, must leave behind a bitter taste. It must prompt the question—the issue can only be viewed in this way—of whether there was another way out of the situation that existed at that time.

Answers to the question may be diametrically opposed to one another. That is understandable. However, whatever the answers may be, history cannot be reversed, and one can only seek to create better history. However, what is decisive is the fact that the parties whose leaders made that decision and not some other one in August 1968, have become champions of the restructuring of relations between our states, relations whose underlying assumptions preclude the possibility of one state trying to influence the course of events in another state. This means the abandonment of those damaging methods and instruments that were used in the past and ran counter to the principles of coexistence between states and peoples.

Historian Examines 1939 Secret Protocols

AU1408124589 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 5 Aug 89 p 15

[Article by Andrzej Garlicki: "Secret Protocols"]

[Text] Speaking during a discussion on West German television on 23 July, Valentin Falin, the head of the CPSU Central Committee Foreign Department, said that "there are no doubts at all about the existence of a supplementary secret protocol to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact that was concluded on 23 August 1939."

This part of Falin's statement was noted by the entire Polish press, because it was the first time that such a high level Soviet figure had clearly stated that the secret protocol existed.

The statement was much clearer than the relevant passage in the text of "The Origins and Beginning of World War II," which was prepared by the Joint Commission of Party Historians of the Polish People's Republic [PPR] and the USSR for examining the history of relations between our two countries (TRYBUNA LUDU no. 121, 24-25 May, 1989).

The description is very vague and ambiguous. The establishment of the Joint Commission of Party Historians of the PPR and the USSR prompted reservations on the part of Polish historians. Doubts were expressed about the arbitrary way in which the commission was set up and its members chosen.

The first joint document produced by the commission confirms these doubts. It reads as follows: "Following the conclusion of the Munich Agreement and, in particular, following the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1939, Soviet foreign policy began to manifest a trend oriented toward bringing about some kind of normalization in relations with the Germans. The explanation for this lay in the clear increase in the potential threat of German aggression against the USSR."

Whoever understands the meaning of this deserves a fortune. Indeed, the Soviet Union had completely normal diplomatic relations with the Third Reich. There were ambassadors in both capitals. So what were the authors of the text thinking about when they wrote about the emergence of a trend toward normalizing relations with the Germans. What is normalization (one of this important newspeak concepts)? Was the secret protocol part of the normalization? Did the Polish members of the commission read the text of the document that they signed?

However, let us return to the subject of the television discussion involving V. Falin. He cited the opinion of Polish historians who, in response to question that he asked about whether Stalin had an alternative to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, are supposed to have said: "It is true that it is difficult for us to have to admit this, but he had no concrete alternative. Circumstances forced him to conclude the treaty, the pact on non-aggression, because there was no other concrete possibility."

I would very much like to know which Polish historians provided this answer. Of course, everyone has the right to express his personal views, but should do so openly. What does the opinion of Polish historians cited by V. Falin mean? Does it mean that Stalin had no alternative to partitioning Poland together with Hitler and determining the fate of the Baltic states? I do not have to add that this view is diamterically opposed to the opinion of the overwhelming majority of Polish historians.

There is one more statement made by V. Falin on West German television that merits comment. He said that the idea of dividing up the Soviet Union had been put forward on many occasions before the war, and that such intentions had been expressed by Beck, Goering and others, and by Pilsudski, above all.

Valentin Falin is poorly informed. It is indeed true that Pilsudski received Herman Goering several months before his death. The official reason for the visit was that he had been invited to go hunting, but in reality the visit had political objectives. Goering wanted to test Polish reaction to plans for anti-Soviet cooperation. During talks with the generals who accompanied him to the Bialowieza Forest as well as during talks with politicians in Warsaw, he repeatedly mentioned the possibility of Polish-German cooperation in the east. He talked about Poland's role as a link between the Black Sea and the Baltic, about the great opportunities that existed for Poland in the Ukraine, and practically proposed forging a military alliance. Disturbed by these ideas, Polish diplomats suggested to Ambassador Moltke that Goering had to be stopped from submitting such ideas to Pilsudski. Goering did not heed the advice and began expounding his vision during an audience at the Belweder Palace. Pilsudski put paid to the matter by telling the Prussian premier that Poland needed peace, as it has a 1,000-kilometer border with the USSR.

Pilsudski's rejection of the German offer of joint expansion directed against the Soviet Union—that is what Goering's suggestions, which were hardly veiled, came down to, and moreover Goering stressed that he was conveying the views of Hitler—provided a clear definition of the course of Polish foreign policy. It excluded the possibility of joint Polish-German expansion against the Soviet Union. Beck remained faithful to this principal to the end.

It is sometimes forgotten that one of the German demands that was addressed to Poland in the fall of 1938 was that Poland accede to the Anti-Comintern Pact. It was the culmination of earlier efforts to exert pressure in that direction. Beck rejected all discussion of this subject.

So it should be remembered that it is simply untrue that aggressive Polish intentions against the USSR serve as a justification for the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. The situation varied at the beginning of the second republic—our forces occupied Kiev and the Red Army stopped at the gates of Warsaw—but later, especially following the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet Non- Aggression Pact, one searches in vain for any aggressive intent toward the USSR in Polish foreign policy.

As I have already mentioned the 1932 Polish-Soviet Pact, it is worth remembering that it was used to justify the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. It is said that the Soviet Union concluded a treaty with the Third Reich whose content was the same as that of the treaty concluded with Poland, and that Poland concluded a treaty with Hitler earlier than the Soviet Union. What is false about this reasoning is that it assumes that the two agreements are comparable. However, the difference between them is fundamental: The agreements that Poland concluded with the USSR and the Germans did not contain any secret clauses or secret protocols. The key elements of the Ribbentrop-Molotov treaties (both that of 23 August 1939 and of 28 September 1939) were the secret protocols. Actually, one does not even have to bother reading the parts that were not secret.

Giby Graves Found To Hold Nazi Soldiers

LD1008214189 Warsaw PAP in English
2059 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Suwalki, Aug 10—The first results of the three-day-long work of the team organizing the exhumation of graves near Giby in the Augustowska forests, north-eastern Poland seem to confirm the findings of the first exhumation carried out two years ago during which the remains of German soldiers were found in two mass graves.

At present a further ten graves were dug up and all seems to show that they also contain the remains of Wehrmacht soldiers.

Prosecutor Waldemar Monkiewicz of the district commission for inspecting Nazi crimes in Bialystok who headed the exhumation in 1987, stated that there was a precise list of 49 names of German soldiers buried near Giby, along with data on where and when they died.

It follows that the present team—with a view to explaining the fate of the residents of the Suwalki region who went missing in July 1945—will have to continue searching in other sites in the Augustowska forests, Prosecutor Monkiewicz said.

Today the organizing team, which comprises members of the citizens committee for searching for residents of the Suwalki region who went missing in July 1945, moved to another inspection site which is situated on the 11th km of the same forest road between the localities of Giby and Rygol. Residents point to this site as a possible one of mass graves of unknown origin.

Further Comment on Relations With U.S.
LD1508132589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0721 GMT 15 Aug 89

["Delicate Phase in U.S.-Yugoslav Relations" by Dusan Zupan—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Washington, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—Enough is enough. This expression which both Americans and Yugoslavs have, has never suited better the comments which the Yugoslav side can make after the latest attacks on our country coming out of the U.S. Congress.

As is well-known, the Croatian separatist Dobroslav Paraga, a convicted nationalist, prompted a resolution adopted recently in the U.S. Senate. And now he faces the threat of a sentence if he returns to Yugoslavia, after everything he has done in his public efforts to "improve human rights in Yugoslavia."

Paraga's fate is of such concern to his sponsors here that the highest U.S. legislative authority had to deal with it, arrogantly ignoring the laws of a sovereign and distant country.

It is a fact that never before have there been as many attacks and "resolutions" coming out of the United States aimed at our country as have occurred recently. Is this perhaps a coincidence? One should probably be well-intentioned to the point of naivety and answer this question affirmatively.

Virtually a whole dozen anti-Yugoslav resolutions and amendments in various phases and stages have been "cooked up" here in Congress since the beginning of this year, not counting the participants of, and speeches by, individual U.S. politicians at various separatist meetings relating to our country.

In a period of several months there was, with the knowledge and approval of the State Department, the arrest and trial of the consul, Bijedic. On this occasion, fairly officially, the whole country was accused of "spying" on the United States, although it should be admitted, the U.S. State Department dissociated itself from these insinuations and placed responsibility "only" on individuals, and not on the whole of Yugoslavia.

In the same period, Yugoslavia mysteriously got on to the "blacklist" of countries which have a surplus in trade with the United States because they use "unfair" trade practices and discriminate against U.S. goods. Here too there were subsequent explanations aimed at deescalating the situation.

From as far back as the regulations of the former government in Washington, this continues to be the case—and in the meantime nothing has changed, as far as is known—that our country is on the list of "hostile countries" in terms of business contacts with the Pentagon and some other "sensitive" U.S. institutions.

The U.S. press, deemed to be independent of the views of the government and political circles, is unnaturally unanimous when it comes to reports about our country, almost all of them being in the same stereotyped form. What is the need for this wave of accusations and attacks from the United States on Yugoslavia—a country which just at this time is undergoing further and more profound essential changes in the direction of general democratization, and in many respects is approaching a market economy, deregulation, a more democratic political system, greater respect for human rights and freedoms, and a more realistic and balanced foreign policy?

There are probably several answers but one of them, perhaps the most important, lies in the obvious intention of exerting influence from this side of the Atlantic on our internal disagreements, disunity, and national and ideological dissension.

General detente in the world and the democratization which is underway in certain socialist countries and the economic problems appearing in them, are seen by the Americans as the victory of their ideology and policy, but also as an opportunity to further influence the direction of processes in accordance with their interests and aims. U.S. support to individual Eastern European countries is openly interpreted here as a stimulus to fresh changes, until these countries return, fully and without exception, to where they came from—the fold of capitalism.

U.S. official circles are expressing virtual amazement at the intensity of Yugoslav reaction in connection with some earlier resolutions and prospective amendments. On one occasion, it has been learned, it was even said that these reactions were "immature."

Attempts are likewise being made to separate the stand of Congress from that of the administration, which is declared to be the only valid one. Those who are familiar with the political, and especially the foreign policy, processes here will find it difficult to agree with this diplomatic appeasement. It is, in fact, known that the U.S. Government, if it wants to, can intervene in cases where it considers the foreign policy views of Congress—as a rule an octave or two above government policy - harmful to U.S. interests abroad. There are plenty of examples of this, and the latest one is the attitude towards China, where the government has worked energetically to soften the stands of Congress.

As for the content of the anti-Yugoslav resolutions and amendments, by all accounts the U.S. Government has the same view as the sponsors in Congress. The only difference is that it considers that these stands should not be made public, so as not to irritate Yugoslavs.

For example, while Congress is publicizing a resolution on Paraga, the State Department is receiving this "fighter for human rights" for high-level talks, but is not

making this public. Let the reader himself conclude how long the road is from these talks and the spreading of Paraga's views on the Voice of America to action in Congress.

All this indicates that the current Yugoslav-U.S. relations are evidently passing through a delicate phase, perhaps even the most delicate phase since Yugoslavia in 1948 resolutely confirmed its commitment to independence. Americans, today too, positively assess the bravery of Yugoslavia at that time which refused interference in its internal affairs and other humiliation, even at the cost of economic traumas which were the price of independence. Nevertheless, it appears, they have not fully understood that at that time it was a matter of a principled standpoint, regardless of which side of the world the big partner who wants to influence the internal policy of Yugoslavia, is on. In view of the fact that now the situation in the world is very different from what it was about 40 years ago, there is even less reason to believe that Yugoslavia could succumb to such pressures.

Croatian Farmers Not To Attend Farmers Meeting

AU1508145089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Croatian farmers will not attend the planned Yugoslav farmers meeting. This was decided at the session of the Committee for Rural Areas and Agriculture of the Republican Socialist Alliance of Croatia. The committee extended full support to the proposal of the Federal Secretariat for Agriculture pertaining to measures in the sphere of agriculture.

'Political Background' of Meeting

AU1508205289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Croatian farmers do not intend to attend the farmers meeting to be held in Belgrade on 28 August. It was said at a session held under the auspices of the Croatian Socialist Alliance that the Belgrade farmers meeting had been convened with a view to undermining the Federal Executive Council.

It was said at the session that the Belgrade meeting has a political background. The following question was also heard: Who has been poisoning relations in Yugoslavia? The next sentence was as follows: Today, our children can see groups of people with cockades and with coats of arms and flags without the socialist insignia. What would happen to people from Croatia who appear with the coat of arms or the tricolor without the red star?

Based on all of these points, honest farmers were called upon at the session of the Croatian Socialist Alliance not to attend the farmers' meeting in Belgrade.

SAWPY Moves To Form National Peasants Union

LD1508141389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—The SAWPY [Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia] Federal Conference has launched a formal initiative to set up a Yugoslav Peasants' Union. In this way Yugoslav peasants, if everything goes according to plan, could, at the beginning of this fall, receive their own organization, which would operate in the framework of the SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People].

Unresolved problems in agriculture over many years, which are reaching their culmination with the severity of the present economic crisis, have forced farmers to organize themselves, and in this way contribute to the resolution of the accumulated problems. Recently, peasants have often stressed their demand for their own organization, and the SAWPY Federal Conference, discussing agriculture and village life in May this year, also pointed to the need for the existence of a peasants' union.

It should be recalled that the peasants of Slovenia and Croatia already have their own organizations, which operate within the framework of the SAWP, and that on the basis of experience, they have been pointing out the need to set up a Yugoslav peasants' organisation. Hitherto the only professional agricultural organization is the Federation of Cooperatives.

Mirkovic Speaks on Border Guards Day

LD1508215589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, August 15 (TANJUG)—There are still forces in individual states who unduly claim some parts of Yugoslavia, but the time has passed when it was possible to trade in Yugoslav territories or people, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces General Stevan Mirkovic said on Tuesday.

Speaking on the occasion of Border Guards' Day, August 15, at the watch-tower Deva on the Yugoslav-Albanian border, General Mirkovic said that the existence of such forces would not prevent us from cultivating a climate of trust and friendship along the entire, nearly 4,000-kilometer-long border of Yugoslavia. The border has been one of the world's most open for some time now.

Addressing the border guards and guests, President of the Youth Organization of Kosovo Redzep Hodza recalled that earlier this year the greater Albania nationalists and separatists had jeopardized the integrity of Yugoslavia by means of aggressive and brutal incidents in this Yugoslav autonomous province. All in the (?country) should be aware of that and, united, protect it, he said.

Yugoslavia wants to be an active actor of lasting good-neighbourliness, Commander of the Fifth Army District General Martin Wegelj today told the border guards at the watch-tower Hodos on the Yugoslav-Hungarian border.

General Spegelj added that the border guards, together with people, are building up and protecting their country along its entire border. The Army has (?never been), nor will it ever be a fertile ground for nationalism, which he said was threatening from different parts of the country.